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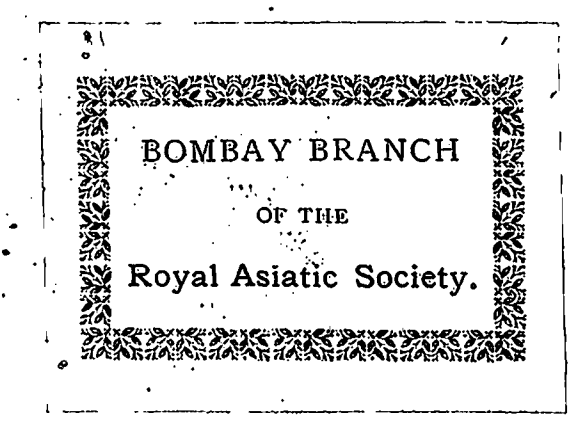

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MEMOIRS

GENERAL MILLER,

IN THE SERVICE OF

THE REPUBLIC OF PERU.

36558 ac

BY JOHN MILLER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE compiled the following work chiefly from the private letters, journals, and recollections of my brother, General Miller, who has been upwards of ten years in the service of South America. These furnish ample materials for an account of the war of independence in the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, Chile, and Peru; and contain numerous remarks and observations on those extensive countries, with incidents and anecdotes illustrative of the character, manners, and customs of the people.

As the geography, and recent political divisions, of the new American states are far from being familiar to the generality of European readers, I have given a concise outline of them, together with an estimate of the population. A glance at the general map,

and a reference to the statistical tables, will give a tolerably correct idea of the boundaries and population of the countries treated of. An outline of the map of Spain and Portugal, upon precisely the same scale as the general map, is given, in order to show the insignificance, in territorial extent, of those kingdoms, as compared with the vast regions over which they so long exercised a most baneful dominion. The maps and plans have been executed by Mr. Arrowsmith, who has taken the utmost pains to give them the greatest possible accuracy.

The first chapter contains a brief summary of the Spanish colonial system, drawn from sources of unquestionable authenticity, and corroborated by personal observation. To this succeeds a rapid survey of the effects of such a system, and exhibits the proximate causes of the great political changes that have elevated those former colonies of Spain to the rank of independent nations.

One of the principal objects of the work is to paint in true colours the merit, the valour,

the constancy, and the natural benevolence, of the Peruvian, Chileno, and Argentine peasantry and soldiery, who possess these good qualities in spite of the many vices resulting from Spanish contagion and misrule.

To award praise or attach blame justly is a delicate and invidious, if not a dangerous, task. Most of the distinguished actors in the scenes described in the following pages are now living, and some of them in the enjoyment of high civil offices, or important military commands. When any such have received commendation, it is probable they will consider it to have been bestowed much too sparingly. When, on the contrary, any of their actions have been censured, feelings of no friendly nature will, no doubt, be abundantly stirred up. General Miller has no disappointment to complain of: he has received every step of promotion, and every honour that has been conferred upon him, without solicitation, either direct or indirect; and, therefore, there can be no motive for misrepresentation.

It is a source of unfeigned regret, that it has been found impossible to record the services, or even the names, of hundreds of individuals, to whose important aid, in very critical circumstances, General Miller was deeply indebted. Arequipa alone would furnish a long list of names that would do honour to this work.

In the construction of the first four chapters, the "NOTICIAS SECRETAS," of Ulloa, edited by Mr. Barry; "THE LIFE OF DR. MORENO," by his brother; and "THE OUTLINE OF THE REVOLUTION IN SPANISH AMERICA," by a South American (Dr. Palacios), have been consulted. The long list of patriots murdered without trial, and in violation of solemn capitulations or amnesties, by order of General Morillo, is taken from an interesting pamphlet, entitled "AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH NATION ON THE AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA," by Colonel Maceroni. The list was extracted from official documents at Madrid.

I am indebted to Señor Don José Miguel

de la Barra, consul-general for Chile, residing in London, for some interesting data relative to the revolution in his own country. My acknowledgments are equally due to other friends, particularly to Señor Don Vicente Pazos Kanki *, a lineal descendant of one of the ancient Peruvian caciques. From this gentleman many curious and interesting particulars, which could not be gleaned in an active military career, have been obtained. I, myself, have travelled in Peru from Payta to Arequipa; crossed the isthmus of Panama, ascended the Orinoco to Angostura; traversed the continent, from Valparaiso to Buenos Ayrés; and spent some time at Rio Janeiro and other parts of the Brazils. Having travelled in a neutral capacity, unconnected with military or mercantile pursuits, my account may be thought to have some claim to the merit of impartiality.

* Señor Pazos Kanki, a native of La Paz in Upper Peru, was educated at the college of San Antonio in Cuzco. Since his residence in London, he has translated the New Testament into the Indian language, and is now qualifying himself at the central school in Southwark, to transplant the Lancasterian system of instruction to his native Andes.

THE NEW GOVERNMENTS OF AMERICA ARE,

	Population.
1. The republic of the united provinces of Río de la Pláta	600,000
2. Republic of Chíle	1,200,000
3. Republic of Perú	1,736,923
4. Dictatorship of Paräguay	500,000
5. Republic of Bolívia	1,200,000
6. Republic of Colómbia	2,711,296
7. Republic of México	8,000,000
8. Republic of Central América	1,700,000
9. Empire of Brazíl	4,000,000
	21,648,219

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, or, UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA

Provinces.

- Buénos Ayres
- Córdova
- Corríentes
- Catamárca
- Mendóza, or Cuyo
- Misiones
- Monte Vidéo, or Banda Oriental
- Riója
- Sálta
- Santiágo del Estéro
- Santa Fé
- San Juan
- San Luis
- Tucumán
- Taríja

Capital, Buenos Ayres.

Inhabitants, 100,000.

	Provinces.
CHILE	Coquímbo
	Aconcágua
	Santiágo
	Colchágua
	Mäule
	Concepcíon
	Valdívia
	Chilóe

Capital, SANTIAGO.
Inhabitants, 40,000.

Arāuco, (the finest part of Chíle, occupied by unsubdued Indians), is not included in this calculation.

	Departments.	*Provinces.*
PERU	LÍMA	Cercádo
		Cánta
		Cañéte
		Chancāy
		Ica
		Sánta
		Huarochirí
		Yaúyos
	TRUXÍLLO	Cajamárca
		Chachapóyas
		Chóta
		Huamachuco
		Jáen
		Lambayéque
		Māynas
		Patás
		Píura
	JUNÍN	Huánuco
		Huāylas
		Xáuxa
		Pásco
		Huamalíes
		Conchúcos.

	Departments.	*Provinces.*
PERU	JUNIN	Huári
		Cajatámbo
		Tárma
	PUNO	Lámpa
		Azángaro
		Caraváya
		Chucuíto
		Guancaní
	AREQUIPA	Cercádo
		Moquégua
		Aríca
		Tarapacá
		Condesúyos
		Cayllóma
		Camaná
	AYACUCHO	Anco
		Andaguailas
		Cangállo
		Guamánga
		Huancavelíca
		Guánta.
		Lucánas.
		Tayacája
		Castroviréyna.
		Parinacóchas.
	CUZCO	Cercádo.
		Abancáy.
		Aymarães.
		Cálca.
		Chumbivílcas.
		Cotabámbas.
		Parúro.
		Paucártambo,
		Quispicánchi.
		Tínta.
		Urubámba.

POPULATION.

Whites	240,819
Indians	998,846
Meztizos	383,782
Free Mulatos	69,848
Slaves	43,628
Total	1,736,628

Capital, LIMA.
Inhabitants, 70,000.

UPPER PERU or BOLIVIA

Departments.	*Provinces.*
CHARCAS	Zintí.
	Yamparães.
	Tomína.
	Pária.
	Orúro.
	Carángas.
POTOSI	Atacáma.
	Lípes.
	Pórco.
	Chayánta.
	Chíchas.
LA PAZ	Pacájes.
	Sicá-Sica.
	Chulumáni.
	Omasúyos.
	Larecája.
	Apolobámba.
COCHABAMBA	Sacába.
	Tapacarí.
	Arque.
	Pálca.
	Clissa.
	Mízque.
SANTA CRUZ DE LA SIERA	Mójos.
	Chiquítos.
	Valle Gránde.
	Pámpas.
	Baüres.

Capital, CHUQUISACA.
Inhabitants, 18,000.

PARAGUAY.

Capital, ASUMPCION.

	Departments.	*Provinces.*
COLOMBIA	ORINOCO	Cumaná.
		Barcelona.
		Margueríta.
		Guyána.
	VENEZUELA	Carácas.
		Carabŏbo.
	APURE	Varínas.
		Apúre.
	ZULIA	Maracāibo.
		Córo.
		Mérida.
		Truxìllo.
	BOYACA	Túnja.
		Pamplóna.
		Socórro.
		Casaníare.
	CUNDINAMARCA	Bogotá.
		Antióquia.
		Maraquíta.
		Neíva.
	MAGDALENA	Cartagéna.
		Santa Márta.
		Rio de la Hácha.
	CAUCA	Popayán.
		Chocó.
		Pásto.
		Buena Ventúra.
	ISTMO	Panamá.
		Verágua.

	Departments.	*Provinces.*
COLOMBIA	EQUADOR	Pinchíncha.
		Imbubúra.
		Chimborázo.
	ASSUAY	Cuénca.
		Lója.
		Jáen.
		Māynas.
	GUAYAQUIL	Guayaquíl.
		Manalí.

Capital, BOGOTA.
Inhabitants, 60,000.

Federal States.

MEXICO
- Chiápa
- Chihuahua
- Coahuila and Téjas
- Durángo
- Guanajŭato
- México
- Michoacan, or Valladolíd
- Nuevo-Leon
- Oajáca
- Puebla de los Angeles
- Querétaro
- San Luis de Potosí
- Sonora and Sinaloa
- Tabásco
- Tamaulipas
- Vera-Cruz
- Xalísco (formerly Guadalajara)
- Yucatán
- Zacatécas
- Territories of Upper and Lower Califórnia
- Tlascála
- Colima
- Santa Fé de Nuevo Mexíco

Capital, MEXICO.
Inhabitants, 170,000

Federal States.

CENTRAL AMERICA
- Guatemála
- San Salvadór
- Hondúras
- Nicarágua
- Costa Ríca

Capital, GUATEMALA.
Inhabitants, 36 or 40,000.

Provinces.

BRAZIL
- San Pédro
- Santa Catalina
- San Pablo
- Rio Janeiro
- Espiritu Santo
- Bahía
- Sergype
- Alagóas
- Pernambúco
- Minas Geráes
- Goyáz
- Mata-Grósso
- Paraíba
- Rio Grande
- Ceará
- Riaühy
- Maranham
- Pará

Capital, RIO JANEIRO.
Inhabitants, 200,000.

*** *An edition of these Memoirs in Spanish is in the Press.*

GLOSSARY.

Argentine, appertaining to the river Plata, or its provinces.
Argentínos, inhabitants of the provinces of El Rio de la Plata.
Alcalde, mayor or municipal officer.
Apúre, river.
Artígas, p. n.
Aríca, town in Peru.
Ayóma, do. in Upper Peru.
Agúy, fort in Chiloe.
Ayacúcho.
Arequípa, city in Peru.
Asoguéros, mine proprietors.
Asiénto, station.
Audiéncia, court of justice.
Arróyos, a rivulet.
Acarí, town in Peru.
Atíco, town in Peru.

Bolívar, p. n.
Boliviáno, belonging to Bolivia.
Bombílla, a little tube to suck máte.
Bólas, a sort of sling with three balls.
Bálsas, a raft, or float.
Benavídes, p. n.

Cabíldo, corporation, or municipal body.
Custódia, a casket for the consecrated wafer.
Corrál, cattle-pen.
Chásqui, a messenger.
Cúra, the priest of a parish.
Cédula, a decree.
Contrabandísta, smuggler.
Cavalládas, drove, or stock of horses.
Chiléno, Chilian.
Chiléna, do. feminine.
Calláo, port in Peru.
Cachapóal, river in Chile.
Chacabúco, ridge in Chile.
Chilóe, island of Chile.
Chascomús, village of the Pampas.
Cuyános, inhabitants of the province of Cuyo.
Cazadóres, light infantry.
Cazadóres à cavallo, light drugoons.
Chólo, a Chileno peasant of mixed blood.
Coquímbo, city of Chile.
Caléta, a creek, or cove, or inlet.
Chancaíllo, village in Peru.
Cagúachi, village in Peru.
Cangállo, village in Peru.
Chorocomáyo, fort.
Camaná, town in Peru.
Carabelí, town in Peru.

Camótes, a vegetable of Peru.

Desaguadéro, outlet of lake Titicáca, forming a large river, which loses itself in the desert.

Desplobládo, unpeopled tract.

Doctor, Doctores, a collegial title in theology, jurisprudence, medicine, &c. sometimes *satirically* applied to those learned quacks who veer about with every political breeze.

Estáncia, grazing farm.

Estancíero grazier.

Fiscal, legal adviser, or attorney-general.

Goyenéche, p. n.

Gáuchos, peasantry of the Pampas.

Guásos, do. of Chile.

Granadéros à cavállo, heavy dragoons.

Guanáco, animal peculiar to Peru.

Guambácho, town in Peru.

Guáca, Indian burial-place.

Garúa, heavy mists prevalent on the coast of Peru.

Guápo, brave, daring.

Haciénda, an estate.

Hacendádo, a landed proprietor.

Huáqui, village in Peru.

Haúra, town in Peru.

Háucho, town in Peru.

Huarás, town in Peru.

Hombú, a tree of the Pampás.

Huármey, town in Peru.

Iquíque, town in Peru.

Intrépido, brig of war.

Ílo, town in Peru.

Iturrígaray, p. n.

Junín, town in Peru.

Júnta Gubernatíva, governing council.

Jujúy, town of Salta.

Lómas, downs, or hills.

Lláma, Peruvian camel.

Lautáro, p. n.

Míta, conscription of Indians.

Mitáyo, conscript for the mines.

Meztízos, mixed casts.

Mérida, town in Colombia.

Montevidéo, town of the Rio de la Plata.

Membrillár, town of Chile.

Máule, river of Chile.

Máte, infusion of Paraguay herb.

Mirábe, hamlet in Peru.

Moquégua, town in Peru.

Montonéros, guerrillas.

Mapócho, river of Chile.

Májes, town of Peru.

Ninconyáncu, Pehuenche chief.

Obráge, bridewell, or public workhouse.
Ojótas, sandals.
Oídor, a judge.

Pláza, the square which forms the centre of every city, town, and village of Spanish America.
Plazuela, small square.
Puncháuca, name of a place in Peru.
Pampéro, south-west wind.
Presidénte Vitalício, president chosen for life.
Púno, department of Peru.

Quíchua, language of the ancient Peruvians.
Querétaro, p. n.
Quiriquína, an island of Chile.
Quílca, seaport of Peru.
Quebráda, a ravine.

Rancágua, town in Chile.
Rimác, a river in Peru.
Réqua, drove, or string of mules.
Rivadávia, p. n.

Salteños, inhabitants of Salta.
Salteñas, female do.
Siésta, afternoon nap.
Surúmpi, a disease of the eyes.
Soróche, difficulty of respiration.
Subdelegádo, governor of a province in the time of the Spaniards.
Sierra, mountain ridge.
Socabón, adit.

Túpac Amáru, p. n.
Tucumán, town.
Talcahuáno, port of Chile.
Toráta, town of Peru.

U'sares, hussars.

Vilcapúgio, village of Upper Peru.
Véta, lode.

Xáuxa, town of Peru.
Xeringa, a surgical instrument.

Yaravís, plaintive airs.

Zitaquaró, town in Mexico.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

VOL. I.

Portrait of General Miller to face the title-page.
General Map to face the Introduction.
Plan of the Battle of Chacabuco to face page - - - - 128
——— Battles of Maypo, and of San Lorenzo - - 180
Plan of Valdivia - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 242

VOL. II.

Map of the Coast of the Puertos Intermedios to face page 46
Plan of the Affair of Junin - - - - - - - - - - 134
Map of the country between Guanta and Cuzco - - - 139
Plan of the Battle of Ayacucho - - - - - - - - 170

CONTENTS

OF

VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

Spanish colonial system.—Tyranny of Spaniards over the aborigines.—Despotism of Spaniards over their own descendants. Mita. — Repartimiento.—Obrages.—Tribute.—Ecclesiastical avarice.—Tupac Amáru; his barbarous execution.—Council of the Indies.—Prohibitory laws.—Traits of character honourable to the Spaniards - - - - Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Loyalty of Spanish Americans contrasted with the conduct of Spaniards.—H. B. M. S. Acasta.—Agents of King Joseph expelled. — Conduct of Iturrigaray. — Liniers. — Central junta.—Regency.—Cortes.—People of Caracas in 1808.—Marquess Wellesley.—Constitutional measures of the Americans.—Injustice of the Spanish government.—Exterminating character of the war.—Truxillo.—Calleja.—Monteverde. —Boves.—Morillo.—Horrid executions.—States of Spanish America declare their independence - - - - 30

CHAPTER III.

Buenos Ayres.—Banda Oriental.—Contrabandistas.—Artigas. —Beresford.—Whitelock.—Princess Carlota.—Cisneros.— Junta Gubernativa. — Moreno.—Elio.—Obes. — Ocampo.— Balcarce.—Cotagaita.—Tupiza.—Castelli.—Paraguay.—

Francia.—Goyeneche.—Huaqui.—Saavedra.—Monte Video.—Rondeau.—Tucuman.—Gobierno Superior.—San Lorenzo.—San Martin.—Salta.—Tristan.—Belgrano.—Vilcapugio.—Ayoma.—Supreme Director.—Arenales.—Warnes.—Alvear.—MonteVideo.—Sipe-Sipe.—Viluma.—Congress.—Puyrredon.—Pumacagua.—Pezuela.—La Serna.—Gauchos P. 51

CHAPTER IV.

Army of the Andes.—Royalist forces in Chile.—Palaver with the Pehuenche Indians.—Ninconyancu.—Father Julian.—Mellyegar.—Savage life.—Passage of the Andes - 88

CHAPTER V.

Chile in 1810.—Figueroa.—Carreras.—Pareja.—Yerbas-Buenas.—Chillan.—Sanchez.—O'Higgins.—Mackenna—Membrillar.—Gainza.—Talca.—Dissensions.—Breach of faith of the royalists.—Desperate defence of Rancagua.—Patriots emigrate.—Sambruno.—Osorio.—Exiles of Juan Fernandez. Rodriguez.—Freyre.—Army of the Andes.—Soler.—Martinez.—Necochea.—Chacabuco.—Supreme director.—San Martin.—Talcahuano.—Las Heras.—Quintana.—Patriot army.—Commodore Bowles - - - - - 105

CHAPTER VI.

Miller—enters the service of Buenos Ayres.—Tour towards Patagonia.—Pampas.—Republican encroachments.—Chascomus.—Los dos Talos.—Spanish prisoners of war—Las Bruscas.—Tigers.—Lions.—Emigration.—Gauchos.—Ostriches.—Viscachas.—Zorrinos.—Deer.—Indians.—Horsemanship.—Horses.—Return to Buenos Ayres - - 132

CHAPTER VII.

Journey to Mendoza.—Andes.—Chile.—Santiago.—Roads.—Army at Las Tablas.—Mess.—Artillery.—Appointments.

—Rapidity of movement.—March.—Lasso Bridge.—Quechereguas.—Cancharayada.—Consternation in the capital.—Rodriguez.—Maypo.—The Lautaro.—Blockade of Valparaiso.—The Esmeralda - - - - Page 158

CHAPTER VIII.

Chileno Squadron sails.—How equipped.—Cholos.—Capture of the Spanish Frigate, Reyna Maria Isabel.—Harsh treatment of Major Miller, the bearer of a flag of truce.—General Sanchez.—Difficulties of getting off the prize.—New danger.—Spanish transports captured.—Chileno squadron returns.—Rejoicings.—Chileno manners - - - - 185

CHAPTER IX.

Lord Cochrane.—Amusements at Valparaiso.—Lady Cochrane.—Mrs. Blanco.—Chilenas.—H. M.S. Andromache.—Chileno squadron sails.—Mutiny in the Chacabuco.—Attack upon Callao.—Captain Guise.—Island of San Lorenzo.—Accident.—Explosion vessel.—Gun-boats.—Huacho.—Guambacho.—Pillage of Payta.—Conventillo.—Guacas.—Squadron returns to Valparaiso.—Admiral Blanco.—Prisoners of war released.—Captain Esmonde - - - - - - 201

CHAPTER X.

Balcarce.—Concepcion.—Benavides.—His barbarities.—Araucanian Indians.—Chileno squadron sails.—Unsuccessful against Callao.—Sails to Pisco.—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles killed.—His character.—Major Miller wounded.—Squadron sails to Guayaquil.—Returns - - - - - - 217

CHAPTER XI.

The O'Higgins makes Valdivia.—Captures the brig of war Potrillo.—Interesting meeting.—Concepcion.—Reinforcement.—The O'Higgins strikes on a rock.—Dismay on board.—Lord Cochrane's sang froid—Valdivia taken - - 231

CHAPTER XII.

Benavides.—His marvellous escape.—Unsuccessful attack upon Chiloe.—Gallantry of the patriot soldiers.—Major Miller wounded.—Fanaticism.—Major Beauchef.—Royalists in Osorno annihilated.—Santalla.—Captain Bobadilla.—Squadron arrives at Valparaiso.—Humane character of the Chilenos.—Misunderstanding between San Martin and the Buenos Ayrean government.—La Logia.—Colonel Martinez.—Battalion No. 8.—Preparations to liberate Peru.—Obstacles.—Royalist forces in Peru - - - - - Page 246

CHAPTER XIII.

Liberating army.—Sails from Valparaiso.—Disembarks at Pisco.—Arenales.—Affair at Nasca.—Army re-embarks.—Ancon.—Guayaquil.—Esmeralda.—Army disembarks at Huacho.—Chancay.—Colonel Campino.—Exchange of prisoners of war.—Battalion of Numancia.—Action of Cerro de Pasco.—Dissensions of the royalists.—Pezuela deposed.—La Serna made viceroy.—Lady Cochrane.—The admiral sails to Callao.—Returns to Huacho.—Proceeds to Pisco.—Armistice of Punchauca - - - - - - - - - 264

CHAPTER XIV.

Patriot detachment reimbarks at Pisco.—Proceeds to Arica.—Unsuccessful attempts to land.—Morro de Sama.—Arica taken.—Property captured.—Affair of Mirabe.—Moquegua.—Caléra.—Armistice.—Patriot prisoners released from slavery.—Mrs. Gago.—The patriots reimbark at Arica.—Sail to the northward - - - - - - - - 291

CHAPTER XV.

Pisco re-occupied.—Ildefonso.—a Peruvian Meg Merrilies.—Copari.—Caguachi.—Character of Santalla.—General San Martin enters Lima.—Atrocities of the royalists.—Independence proclaimed.—San Martin becomes protector.—Decrees.—Canterac returns to Callao—retreats again—is pursued.—Puruchuco.—Quiros.—Montoneros - - - - - 316

CHAPTER XVI.

Peruvian legion.—Patriot and royalist forces.—Supreme delegate.—Lord Cochrane sails to California.—Critical situation.—Spanish ships capitulate.—Lord Cochrane returns to Chile.—Quits the service.—The surprise at Ica.—Battle of Pinchinca.—Interview between Bolivar and San Martin.—Monteagudo banished.—Congress installed.—General San Martin retires from public life - - - Page 345

APPENDIX.

(A.) Page 33.—Letter from Captain Beaver to Sir Alexander Cochrane - - - - - - - - - 359
(B.) Page 52. - - - - - - - - - 361
(C.) Page 80.—Declaration of the Independence of the United Provinces of South America - - - - - - 363
Manifesto, addressed to all Nations of the Earth, by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, respecting the treatment and cruelties they have experienced from the Spaniards, and which have given rise to the Declaration of their Independence - - - - - 365
(D.) Page 216. - - - - - - - - - 380
(E.) Page 262. - - - - - - - - - 382
(F.) Page 277. - - - - - - - - - - 384
(G.) Page 350.—Translation of a Vote of Thanks from the Peruvian Congress to Lord Cochrane - - - - 386
Lord Cochrane's Proclamation on quitting Chile - - 387
(H.) Page 356.—Translation of General San Martin's Proclamation - - - - - - - - - - 388
Translation of an official Paragraph inserted in the Gazeta del Gobierno of the 22d September, 1822 - - - ib.

ERRATA.

Page 16, line 4, *for* Jozé Gabriel, Condorcanqui, *read* José Gabriel Condorcanqui.
— 70, — 23, *for* Castelli Balcarce, *read* Castelli and Balcarce.
— 123, — 1 (of note), *for* Maypo, *read* Chacabuco.
— 134, — 24, *for* M'Kinlay, *read* Mackinlay.
— 202, — 18, *for* Santiago, *read* Valparaiso.
— 210, — last, *for* thieving, *read* thriving.
— 232, — 3, *dele* whole.
— — — 4, *for* Reyes, *read* del Rio.
— 277, — 29, *after* day, *add* (See Appendix F.)
— 328, — 7, *for* who was now, *read* who had been.
— 331, — 7, *for* of, *read* for.
— 333, — 25, *for* America, *read* Peru.
— 336, — 6, *for* chosen from, *read* composed of.
— 337, — 27, *for* the infantry, *read* the patriot infantry.

MEMOIRS,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Spanish colonial System.—Tyranny of Spaniards over the Aborigines.—Despotism of Spaniards over their own Descendants.—Mita.—Repartimiento.—Obrages.—Tribute.—Ecclesiastical Avarice.—Tupac Amaru; his barbarous Execution.—Council of the Indies.—Prohibitory Laws.—Traits of Character honourable to the Spaniards.

THE unjust and desolating line of policy adopted by Spain, during three centuries of domination over her American possessions, may be comprehended under two heads.

1st. *The tyranny exercised over the aborigines.*

2nd. *The despotism of Spaniards over their own descendants.*

It is scarcely necessary to assert in this place, because the fact will be admitted by those who take the trouble to investigate the subject, that not only the riches derived from Spanish America, but the very means of subsistence enjoyed by its inhabitants, have all along been procured by the personal toils of the aborigines, assisted, it is true, in some of their laborious tasks, by slaves imported from Africa. But the latter were too valuable to be expended in the mines.

By Indians alone gold and silver were extracted; the land was cultivated by Indians; by Indians the flocks and herds were reared and tended; and every other servile duty performed. Yet upon inquiry it will be found, that the sole return which they have received from the Spaniards, for these benefits, has been a life of cruel and continuous suffering.

Of the gold and silver acquired by their labours little remained in their own hands; of the fruits of the earth, which they sowed and gathered in, they were hardly ever permitted to be the possessors; of the cattle which they reared they were seldom the owners, and but rarely allowed to partake of the nourishment to be derived from them. Their sustenance consisted almost solely of maize and herbs, the spontaneous growth of the soil. The clothes and other productions of Europe, with which America was supplied, were not for the Indians; and their miserable dress was confined to the same sort of coarse clothing that had been woven by Indian females before the arrival of the Spaniards.

The only blessing indeed which their masters could pretend to have conferred upon them was a knowledge of the religion of which they were themselves professors; and even here the benefits obtained by the Indians were of an equivocal nature; they were converted to Christianity in name, but in reality were reduced to a state of absolute bondage.

Volumes might be written upon the almost endless varieties of oppression, both secular and ecclesiastical, which reduced this hapless race to a condition of wretchedness, in comparison with which that of the

negro slave is a state of comfort; but this exposition will, for the sake of brevity, be confined principally to two points, viz.—

The *mita*, and the *repartimiento*.

It would be difficult to find in history more glaring instances of unblushing cruelty produced by insatiable avarice, than is afforded by the mita and the repartimiento, as they were practised by Spaniards in America.

The *mita* was the compulsory personal toil exacted from the Indians for the space generally of a year. The population of every district furnished the *personel* of labour by which its riches were to be made available, and every proprietor, whether of land or of mines, was entitled to claim a share in what was considered and treated as a herd of working animals.

This fund of human labour was called the *mita*. It was so regulated, that a determinate number of Indians was annually drawn by ballot for the several services of the district. Every individual who obtained the grant of a mine became entitled, so soon as the grant was registered, to a proportionate number of these unhappy beings to work it. Some estimate may be formed of the effects of this regulation, when it is understood that there were fourteen hundred mines registered in Peru alone, and that every mine which remained unworked for the space of a year and a day became the property of any person who chose to claim it, for the purpose of turning it to account.

So dreadful was the labour of the mines considered, that each individual on whom the lot fell regarded it

as a virtual sentence of death. He carried with him to that dreary abode his wife and children, and made the necessary disposition to provide for the contingency of never again returning. Nor were these forebodings groundless, for, under the most favourable circumstances, scarcely one out of five of these devoted victims was ever known to survive this odious and most oppressive conscription.

The *mitayo*, or labourer in the mines, received nominally four reales, or about two shillings a day, which was one half of the wages of the ordinary day-labourer in the fields. Out of this sum, two thirds were supposed to be paid to him; but as this amount did not suffice to meet the expenses of his miserable diet and lodging, which were furnished at a most extravagant rate, together with the eight dollars of tribute for which his master was responsible, he found himself, if he outlived the year, still indebted to his employer: in this case he was not allowed to discontinue from work until his debt was paid. Thus each succeeding year found him more and more deeply involved, and thus was another link added to the galling chain by which he was fettered to his destiny. Before the expiration of the first year, a merciful Providence, however, generally released him from captivity by a welcome death. Languishing under the baneful effects of the transition from the genial air and exercise of his native abode, to the noxious exhalations and exhausting labours of the mines, worn out with fatigue, grief, and disease, the wretched mitayo in a few months generally yielded to his fate, and found a refuge in the grave.

The third part of his wages, which had been reserved to defray the expenses of the return of his family to their native home, was appropriated to that purpose. More than twelve thousand Indians were annually subject to the mita conscription in Potosi alone. It is computed that eight millions two hundred and eighty-five thousand Indians thus perished in the mines of Peru *.

The Indians were in like manner pressed into the service of the corregidors, or governors of provinces, of the caciques, and of the curates, to serve as *pongos*, or menial servants, who were generally relieved periodically, but were not allowed to return to their homes until they had procured a certificate stating the due discharge of their services. They received no remuneration except food and miserable clothing. It is computed that upwards of sixty thousand Indians were employed in Peru alone in this domestic servitude †.

For a description of the sufferings to which the Indians were exposed on other properties where the mita prevailed, viz. the cultivated estates, the *estancias*, or grazing farms, and the *obrages*, or public manufactories, the reader is referred to the secret report of Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, perhaps the most authentic work upon this subject that has ever been published, and for which, after

* The extermination of the aborigines in other parts of America colonized by Spaniards or Portuguese was even more effectually accomplished.

† It has been impossible to do away entirely with this abuse, and at the present time it exists in many of the villages and towns, notwithstanding that it is prohibited by recent laws.

having slept in the archives of Madrid for eighty years, the literary world is indebted to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Barry.

2dly. The *repartimiento* * was the privilege originally granted with the best intentions, and most politic views, to the corregidors or superintendents of districts, to furnish at a fair price articles of necessary consumption to the Indians. At the period of the conquest, and for a long time afterwards, few if any merchants penetrated into the interior of the conquered countries. The governors were therefore almost necessarily the persons who bartered with subdued or unsubdued Indians, supplied their wants, and received in exchange gold and silver.

This privilege, although regulated by law, was abused, and in the course of a short time converted into a compulsory and disgraceful traffic, as new in the annals of commerce as it was detestable in the eyes of justice and humanity. Not only were dying mules, damaged goods, and other worthless articles, forced upon the Indians at double and triple the value of the best commodities of the same kind, but razors to men who have no beards, silk stockings, velvets, and other luxuries, of which the barefooted Indian did not even know the use, constituted an important part of the supplies for which the Indians were compelled to pay.

* Tracts of the country, or whole districts of Indians, granted to the early conquerors, were called encomiendas, and sometimes repartimientos. Although the feudal privileges of encomiendas had been abolished by some decrees of the sovereign, yet they continued to be exercised on a few remaining encomiendas until the final expulsion of the Spaniards.

One instance will illustrate the system. Some foolish speculator in Europe had sent out, amongst other things, a consignment of spectacles, which lay useless in the stores of a merchant in Lima. After every hope of disposing of them had failed, in a country in which people retain their eyesight unimpaired to a very late period of life, a corregidor was applied to, who, upon issuing an order that no Indian in his district should attend divine service, upon certain festivals, unless ornamented with spectacles, found means to dispose of the whole of them at an enormous profit.

These abuses originated from the source which produced all the other grievances of Spanish America, namely, that the interests of those vast countries should be made subservient to those of Spain. Needy Spaniards, who could muster enough money to make a well-timed present, or were so far devoid of principle as to stoop to still baser means, might, according to the system so admirably pourtrayed in Gil Blas, ensure an appointment in the Indies, from whence they relied upon being enabled to return in a very few years with a competent fortune. Every new viceroy brought out a shoal of hungry dependents of this class, and fresh adventurers arrived with every civil, military, or ecclesiastical appointment, to be applied in succession, so soon as the leeches already in operation should be gorged and drop off.

Amongst the appointments which were generally disposed of in this manner was the office of corregidor.

The new dignitary found no difficulty in obtaining,

at a long credit, and at a proportionably high price, unsaleable or damaged goods, with which he proceeded to take possession of his district.

The collection of the royal tribute, which was in reality the principal object of the appointment of the corregidor, afforded him ample means of increasing and enforcing his exactions. The tribute was an annual capitation tax of eight dollars, paid by every Indian between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five. For the amount of this the corregidor was responsible to the royal treasury. For the correctness of his conduct, so far as the royal claims were concerned, there was no deficiency of safeguards; but the moment that was secured there was no further check. If he could force the Indians to commence the payment of the tribute at fifteen years of age, and continue it until seventy, which was often practised, the eighteen years of surplus became his own. If an unfortunate Indian was unable to pay, which, owing to innumerable other exactions to which he was liable, was but too often the case, he was sent to the obrage, or public manufactory, or bridewell. The nature of this punishment will be best described in the words of the report above referred to:

"The Indian in the obrage earns by his labour there a real, about sixpence, a day. Half of this is stopped to pay his arrears to the corregidor, and the other half is allotted for his maintenance. But that is not sufficient for one who is obliged to work unceasingly for the whole day. Indeed, how can half a real in that country purchase sufficient food for a man, when it

will barely suffice to pay for his chicha*, without which an Indian can hardly exist, and which, from its nourishing and invigorating qualities, he prizes more than food? Besides, as the Indian is not allowed to move out, he is obliged to take whatever the keeper of the obrage chooses to give him for his half real. The latter, in order to prevent loss to himself, furnishes him with maize or barley that has been damaged in the granaries, the carcasses of cattle that have died of disease, and have already begun to taint the air, and with other food of a similar nature. The view of the bodies of those persons, when they are brought out dead from such houses, would move the most flinty heart to compassion. They are mere skeletons, fully betraying the cause and manner of their death, and they often expire in the performance of the tasks allotted to them, with the very instruments of labour in their hands; for notwithstanding the symptoms of their dreadful malady manifested in their looks, the barbarous task-masters do not consider it a sufficient reason to exempt them from labour, or to be at the expense of medical aid†."

* A fermented liquor (in flavour something like sweet wort), made from Indian corn, from barley, and, in the sierra, from quinoa (millet).

† The tribute was collected in the departments of Upper Peru until the end of 1825, a year after they were liberated by the patriots.

The governor of each province was obliged to pay into the departmental treasury a certain sum every quarter, according to the number of tributary Indians his province was computed to contain, by a census made every seven years. It often happened that the population was considerably underrated, in which cases the governors were great gainers. That of the province of Porco, in the department of Potosi, was supposed to collect a *surplus* of 10,000 dollars per annum, owing to this circumstance.

When General Bolivar arrived at Potosi, at the latter end of 1825, the tribute was abolished *de facto*. Until then, pretty much the same abuses described by Ulloa existed; and were we at liberty to state the result of some official examinations as to the then actual state of the Indians in those mining districts, it would appear that the unfortunate aborigines were as ill treated by men professing liberal and constitutional principles, as they had been previously by

It is a lamentable fact, that the general desolation of this hapless race was increased by the very class of men whose duty it was to have mitigated their sufferings, and who were originally placed amongst them as protectors. The priests, to whose spiritual guidance the Indians were assigned, were commonly chosen from amongst the most useless and worthless of their respective orders, and, instead of enlightening and protecting the poor, ignorant, and inoffensive beings committed to their charge, they plundered them without mercy of that which had escaped the rapacity of the corregidors.

The curate of a moderate living, in the province of Quito, informed the intelligent travellers before mentioned, that, exclusively of his dues and regular fees, he received during the year, as presents which he exacted at certain festivals, 200 sheep, 6,000 head of poultry, 4,000 guinea pigs, and 50,000 eggs. Mass was not said on those days until a due proportion of the exacted presents were delivered. Mr. Barry relates that he himself saw a curate's bill for the fees of interring a person who died in easy circumstances, which amounted to 134 dollars; by these and other means, livings of 7 and 800 dollars a year were made to produce 5 or 6,000. Many of the curacies of Peru are worth from 10 to 15,000 dollars per annum.

European rulers. The Indians now enjoy by law the same rights and protection as other citizens. Many acts of cruelty and injustice will perhaps continue for a time to be exercised over them, owing to the undue influence and power of a few of the clergy and unprincipled *employés*. But the laws of the new governments are just and wise on this head, and there is little doubt but that in the course of time they will be observed. Many of the patriot clergy are liberal, enlightened, and enthusiastic in protecting their parishioners. Dr. Calera, one of the curates of Potosi, affords a brilliant example of philanthropic solicitude for the welfare of the Indians.

The scandalous example afforded by their licentiousness was still more pernicious than their insatiable avarice. Religion administered by such men was calculated rather to do harm than good, because the Christianity of their precepts was neutralized by the heathenism of their practices.

The atrocities committed by these wolves in sheeps' clothing would almost surpass belief, were they not given on the authority of such men as the Ulloas*, and had we not before us recent facts which confirm their statement. All that the Indians have been taught of religion is the Pater noster, the Belief, the Ave Maria, and a few prayers relative to confession and communion†. A short time before the performance of mass on every Sunday morning was the only time set apart for this sort of superficial instruction. This weekly attendance on the part of the Indians was to enable the parish priest to fulfil an ordinance which gave him an opportunity of collecting his fees

* Had the suggestions of the inestimable and enlightened Ulloas been attended to by the court of Spain, and had the whole of these missions been transferred, as they recommended, to the Jesuits, to whose character and conduct they bear the highest testimony, as the only agents qualified for the conversion and civilization of the Indians, it is but fair to conclude, judging from what they so quickly, and under the greatest disadvantages, effected in Paraguay, that the Indians would have been at this moment a numerous, a civilized, and a happy people, as well as an assured source of wealth and strength to Spain.

Independently of the many valuable articles of commerce and manufactures which were produced in the missions of Paraguay, the Jesuits paid annually into the royal treasury 240,000 dollars, as the tribute of 30,000 men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, at the rate of eight dollars each.

But the court of Madrid had not the inclination, nor perhaps the ability, to effect the improvements so judiciously pointed out. Such changes would have too materially affected the interest of those who were fattening on the abuses thus denounced. The Jesuits were expelled, their missions placed on nearly the same footing as those of other monastic orders, and the same system of general tyranny and rapacity pursued. The results are now evident.

† Pope Paul the Third issued a bull, dated 2d June, 1537, pronouncing the Indians to be really men, and capable of understanding the catholic faith; the cause of the Indians being pleaded by Bartolomeo Las Casas, afterwards bishop of Chiapa.

for the administering of the sacraments of the Romish church. The catechism, or the summary mentioned, was taught by the parish priest, when he understood the language of the Indians, which was not always the case. These priests received a salary from government, but they extorted casual profits, in the shape of baptismal, matrimonial, burial, and other fees, which they called *obvenciones*.

When the Indians were unable to repeat from memory prayers they did not understand, they were often publicly whipped at the church porch. Hence their aversion to a religion, the benefits of which were to them unintelligible, but which they felt practically to be a scourge.

When an Indian lost his wife or his child, he underwent a rigorous examination as to his means of defraying the fees of interment, which were graduated at the discretion of the priest. If the Indian refused to pay, then his mule, his cow, his llama, his sheep, or other property, was sequestered and publicly sold. If it were found out that he had concealed any thing valuable, he was thrown into prison. In all these cases, the civil authority lent its aid. The following fact is related by an eye-witness now in England: A poor widow, with a heart full of grief for the loss of her husband and only support, was summoned to the presence of the priest, to make a declaration of the property left by her deceased husband, in order that the reverend father might fix the scale of his fees. In vain the unfortunate woman implored the priest to forego his demands in favour

of her children. He was inexorable, and would relinquish his claim only upon condition that she would deliver over her eldest son, in order that he might reimburse himself by selling the boy as a slave, or making a present of him, although the practice was contrary to law. To avoid starvation, the afflicted widow gave up her son of eight years old. The Indian children thus obtained are highly prized, on account of their value and fidelity as domestic servants. This practice was continued until very lately. When General Miller was governor of Potosi, some cases of the same kind were laid before him.

In 1817, the *cura*, or parish priest, of La Punta de Santa Elena, in the province of Guayaquil, named Lureña, a native of Cuenca, having occasion to go a long journey, deputed a young priest to officiate in his absence. The first question on his return home was, "Well, what news? who have died?" In giving the list of deaths, the acting cura mentioned the name of a rich cacique. Lureña rubbed his hands, and exclaimed, "Well, and what did you get for the funeral masses? a thousand dollars, eh?"—"No," replied the other, "the family expressed a wish for the cacique to be buried as a poor Indian, which I permitted, and received the customary fee of six dollars and six reales (twenty-seven shillings)." Having severely reprimanded the novice, Lureña sent for the sons of the deceased Indian. He told them that they were degenerate children of the best man in the country, and every way unworthy of enjoying the property they inherited; that burying him as a poor

man was not only indelicate, undutiful, and unfeeling, but the certain means of prolonging the torments of their good father's soul in the flames of purgatory. The sons expressed the deepest sorrow, but said there was now no remedy. "Yes," says he, "there is: I will compromise the matter: I will have the statue of your late excellent and pious father made in wax: the funeral service shall be read over his wax effigy, and masses shall be said for the repose of his soul." The sons were glad to pay five or six hundred dollars for the mock funeral, in order to escape from further censures of the enraged and crafty ecclesiastic.

It may be urged by the advocates of the Spanish government, that the Indians had the power of appealing from such horrible abuses to the viceroys, as representatives of their king. The answer is simple: A long course of slavery will bend the spirit of the boldest and most independent race; but the Indians were, even in their golden age, under the paternal sway of their splendid Incas, a meek and inoffensive people; cruelty and tyranny had reduced them, in every moral and philosophical capacity, from the rank of men to a condition little superior to that of the brute creation. The Spaniard despised the Creole, the Creole hated and envied the Spaniard, but both united in maltreating and oppressing the poor Indian. Even the blacks were encouraged to trample upon the aborigines. Up to the present time, the blacks express their contempt for the Indians. Besides, how could the unfortunate being who was shut up for life in a mine, or in a bridewell, escape in order to tell

his tale of woe? or how, if he did escape, was he to make his case known to the higher authorities, whom he could rarely approach, or address them only in a language which they did not understand? And even if, from being in a state of momentary freedom, and from the advantage of an accidental proximity to the capital, he did succeed in obtaining an audience, what was the result? Let the answer be given by two conscientious and virtuous Spaniards, already quoted:

"A repartimiento had taken place in the year 1743, about forty leagues from Lima. The corregidor had purchased goods for 70,000 dollars; for these goods he exacted from the wretched Indians 300,000 dollars.

"The Indians of this corregimiento," continue our authors, "finding themselves tyrannized over with greater cruelty than they had experienced from the predecessors of the corregidor, determined to complain to the viceroy, and produced before him the goods, together with the proofs of the exorbitant prices which they had been obliged to pay for them. We do not state this fact from report, as we happened to be present when the Indians came to make known their grievances. The viceroy heard them, and referred them to the *audiencia;* and the result was, that the Indians were seized and punished as insurgents."

But the bow, however elastic, may be bent until it breaks. The Indians, after enduring the most cruel oppressions for ages, in the hopeless apathy of despair, were roused to vengeance in 1780, by the avarice of the corregidors of Chayanta and Tinta,

who, in that single year, ventured to impose three repartimientos, each of which produced about 150,000 dollars.

Don Jozé Gabriel, Condorcanqui cacique of Tungasuca, in whom education had awakened the dormant feelings of human nature, placed himself at the head of his countrymen. He was a descendant of the inca Tupac Amaru, who in the year 1562 was most unjustly beheaded by order of the viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

The cacique of Tungasuca was educated at the college of San Borja at Cuzco, and possessed virtues which in private life render a man amiable and respected; but he wanted those essential qualifications which are requisite to constitute the restorer of an empire. His countenance was noble, his manners prepossessing, his stature lofty, and frame robust; his disposition intrepid and enterprising; but his passions were violent, and his knowledge and views in every respect too confined to realize the grand idea of recovering the lost happiness of his country. Instead of uniting and making common cause with the Spanish Americans, who, born on the same soil, and held perhaps in more galling fetters, were entitled to the same rights with himself, he directed his hostilities equally against them as against the Spaniards, the real tyrants of both; and he met the fate which a policy so isolated and so unjust could not but ensure.

The popularity of his cause, however, amongst his own people soon attracted to his standard a multitude of undisciplined Indians, whom he had not either

the talent to train in military tactics, or the means to arm. He assumed not only the name of his ancestor Tupac Amaru, which means, in the *Quechua* language, the highly endowed, but the attributes and the pomp of the incas.

Some partial successes attended his career. The desperate valour of his unarmed followers, in which even their females partook, seemed to counterbalance the discipline, the arms, and skill of their opponents; but, in the end, Tupac Amaru was taken prisoner. The details of his execution warrant a strong presumption that civilization which, in every other country of Europe, has alleviated the horrors of war, and mitigated the rage of the victor, had not reached, or at least not softened, the Spaniard in America. The punishment of Tupac Amaru was dictated by the same ruthless barbarity that had formerly condemned the young and heroic Guatemozin, the last of the emperors of Mexico, to expire upon burning coals. Tupac Amaru beheld from the scaffold the execution of his wife, of his children, and of many of his faithful followers; after which his tongue was cut out, and wild horses, harnessed to his legs and arms, tore his limbs asunder*.

But this horrible butchery, so far from being of service to the cause for which it was perpetrated, may be fairly estimated to have cost the Spaniards five hundred additional lives for every victim immolated upon this occasion. The Indians, barbarous

* The brother of Tupac Amaru reached Buenos Ayres in 1822, after having been confined thirty years in Ceuta. The independent government granted him a house and a pension of thirty dollars per month. An exposition of his sufferings was written by his own hand, and placed in the archives of the state.

and ferocious when their passions are strongly excited, as all degraded and debased people become when once roused against their oppressors, were so horror-struck at the recital of these enormities, that many who had until then remained passive now joined in the insurrection. Headed by the Indian chiefs, among whom was Catari, they kept up a desultory but destructive warfare, and cut to pieces several detachments of Spaniards.

Andres, the nephew of Tupac Amaru, laid siege to the town of Sorata, where the Spaniards of the neighbouring districts had taken refuge with their families and wealth. The unarmed Indians were unequal to the storming of fortifications, which, although constructed only of earth, were lined with artillery. But their leader surmounted this difficulty by the adoption of a measure that would have done credit to any commander. By the construction of a lengthened mound he collected the waters which flow from the neighbouring snowy heights of Ancoma; and turning them against the earthen ramparts, washed them away. The immediate result was the storming of the town, and the massacre of its inhabitants*, with circumstances of horror exceeding the death of Tupac Amaru. Unhappily the vanity of these rude chieftains trifled away in ridiculous assumptions of royalty that time which ought to have been spent in warlike operations.

The Spaniards finally succeeded in obtaining by treachery what their cruelty had failed in effecting. The two principal Indian chiefs, in consequence of

* Twenty thousand. Excepting the clergy, not a single male was left alive.

bribes artfully applied, were delivered up by the treachery of confidential servants; and thus was the reign of tyranny for a few years longer upheld by her accustomed associates, fraud and cruelty. This rebellion, however produced the abolition of the *repartimiento*. In other respects the Indians continued to be as much oppressed as before.

The second head under which the tyranny of Spain towards her colonies had been classed relates to the despotism exercised by the Spaniards over their own descendants in America. In order to trace to the source the grievances of the creole descendants of the Spaniards, it will be necessary to take a view of the basis of their colonial legislation, a well intended code, the abuses of which spread indiscriminate tyranny over whites as well as Indians.

The spirit of a paternal government breathed through every page of the *Recopilacion de las Leyes de las Indias*. Amongst other precautions the kings of Spain had, with a benignant and sage policy, rendered America as composed, both of its aboriginal inhabitants and of the descendants of the Spaniards, a separate empire dependant upon the *crown* of Spain, but independent of the *kingdom* of Spain, and connected with it only through the medium of the sovereign who ruled both*. But unfortunately the kings of Spain delegated their power over America to a set of men composing what is called the council of the Indies, of which the sovereign was president. It was placed, as to rank and privileges, upon

* Ley. 1, tit. 8. lib. 4. See also the most eminent Spanish commentators, Soto, Suares, and Zolorzano.

a footing with the council of Castile. The council of the Indies exercised the patronage of the higher appointments in America, and the members were interested rather in the perpetuation than in the extinction of abuses. Reform would have narrowed the usual sources of wealth to their relations, dependants, or protegés, from whom imperative custom demanded the most expressive tokens of gratitude to their patrons.

The inevitable result of such a system could not be long concealed. The government of America was virtually vested in the people of Spain, and her interests and her happiness were sacrificed to the unjust and short-sighted view of enriching and aggrandizing individuals of the mother country. The beneficent laws of the Indies became a dead letter; regulations, however imperative, were of no avail, and America was the vast field in which the avarice and cruelty of the Spanish nation might luxuriate with impunity. Some proofs of the accuracy of this conclusion have been brought to light in reviewing the case of the Indians. A short sketch of the government of the Indies as applied to the descendants of the Spaniards themselves will furnish the remainder.

We have seen a despotic king framing paternal and wise laws for his subjects, but unable to enforce their due observance. Let us now contemplate a nation legislating for the government of its own children, when transplanted to another soil, and we shall find its laws selfish, despotic, unjust, and consequently impolitic in every principle, but enforced with the

most jealous exactitude. The monopolising and sordid spirit in which they were framed could be equalled only by the unrelenting severity with which they were carried into effect; and the degrading and demoralising influence of such a government became immediately apparent.

By the fundamental laws of the Indies, the natives of Spanish America had been declared to be eligible to its ecclesiastical benefices, and to the offices of trust, importance, and honour in its government*. These, together with the law enacting its total independence of Spain, would, if observed, have been sufficient to ensure the prosperity and happiness of Spanish America; but these laws were either superseded or disregarded from the moment that the kings of Spain, by the appointment of a council of the Indies, virtually delegated their authority to the Spanish nation. The spirit of the laws thenceforward enacted, as well as the observance of the fundamental laws, were regulated upon principles subversive of the rights and welfare of America.

These violations of the fundamental laws or Magna Charta of the Indies may be classed under three heads.

1. *Agricultural and commercial.*
2. *Political and honorary.*
3. *Intellectual and moral.*

In all of these, brevity will confine us to a few leading points.

1. *Agricultural and commercial.*

The natives of Spanish America were prohibited to cultivate on their own lands many of the valuable

* Leyes 3. 5. 13. 14. 22. 24. 28.

fruits and productions to which the soil and climate were peculiarly adapted, as well as such articles which Spain herself produced, and wished to make available for her own commerce*. They were forbidden to have manufactories of cloth destined for any but Indians to wear; they were deprived of every species of traffic, not only with foreign nations, but with each other; and orders were transmitted to the different viceroys to prevent, by all possible ways and means, commerce between their respective kingdoms. We give one by way of specimen.

"According to the final resolution of the count of Chinchon, and by the advice of the board of finance, we order and command the viceroys of Peru and New Spain, that they absolutely prohibit and impede all commerce and traffic, between both kingdoms, by all the ways and means in their power†."

Even when foreigners were allowed to prosecute the cod and whale fisheries on the coast of America, the natives were restrained; and they were punished with death if it was proved that they sold an article of commerce to those strangers. They were forbidden to work their mines of quicksilver and iron‡. The

* Quedando expresamente prohibido p^a la Nueva España, Tierra Firme, y Santa Fé, los vinos, aguardientes, vinagre y azeite de olivas, pasas, y almendras del Peru y Chile, y privados rigurosamente en todas partes los plantios de olivares y viñas. Gazeta de Mexico, Octubre 6, 1804.

Translation.—Being expressly prohibited in New Spain, Tierra Firme, and Santa Fé, the wines, brandies, vinegar, oil of olives, raisins, almonds of Peru and Chile; and the planting of olive-trees and vineyards being every where strictly forbidden.—Gazette of Mexico, 6 October, 1804.

† Por ultima resolucion del conde de Chinchon, y acuerdo de hacienda, ordenamos y mandamos à los virreyes del Peru y Nueva España que infaliblemente prohiban y estorben el comercio y tralico entre ambos reynos por todos los caminos y medios que les fuera posibles. L. 79. tit. 45. lib. 9.

‡ The quicksilver mine at Guancabelica, in Peru, was allowed to be worked under certain restrictions during the war between England and Spain.

order to tear up by the roots every forbidden article that had been planted, and to burn and destroy obnoxious implements of agriculture and manufactures, were most rigorously executed.

2nd. *Political and honorary.*

In violation of the fundamental laws, Americans were generally excluded from offices from which either honour or profit could be derived. When a deviation from this system did occur, it was in favour of such as could afford to give enormous bribes, or of those who were most forward in depreciating and tyrannizing over their own countrymen with the malignant feelings of renegadoes; and these were certain of being liberally employed and amply rewarded. But, carefully as honourable Americans were excluded *de facto,* still it was, in the last century, seriously debated in the great council of the Indies, whether they should not be excluded *de jure,* and declared incapable of filling any honourable office. But this idea was never carried into effect. It was felt to be unnecessary, and was perhaps conceived too wanton and flagrant a declaration of the purpose, to violate those fundamental laws of the Indies, which enacted, "that in all cases of government, justice, administration of finance, employments, *encomiendas* of Indians, &c. the first discoverers, then the *pacificadores,* and lastly the settlers, and those born in the provinces of America, are to be preferred."

Another objection to such a measure would have been the cutting off the most efficient means for procuring the service of recreant natives, who were often

found the fittest tools to be employed in acts of violence and atrocity. The same motives and ideas influenced the *consulado*, or board of trade, of Mexico, composed of Spaniards, to represent to the Cortes of Cadiz, in 1811, "that the Spanish Americans were a race of monkeys, full of vice and ignorance, and automata unworthy of representing or being represented *."

The Cortes, which had received their authority from the Regency, shared its animosity against the Americans, and although there were in the Cortes some members chosen from those Americans who happened to be at that time in the Isla de Leon, they were scarcely allowed to speak of their country. "If the Americans," said one of the members of the Cortes, "complain of having been tyrannized over for three hundred years, they shall now experience a similar treatment for three thousand." "I am rejoiced," said another (Count Toreno), after the battle of Albuera, "at the advantage we have gained, because we can now send troops to reduce the insurgents." "I do not know to what class of beasts belong the Americans," said another† (Valiente).

The mode in which the fundamental laws were observed are evinced by the following facts.

Out of one hundred and sixty viceroys who have governed in America, only four have been natives, and out of six hundred and two captains-general and governors, all except fourteen were Spaniards.

The laws of the Indies also provided that the creoles,

* See debates of Cortes, Sept. 1811. Count Agreda, one of those who signed the document, has lately been obliged to quit Mexico.

† See Manifesto of Alvarez Toledo, Deputy of Cortes.

or descendants of the conquerors and settlers, should have the right of holding the chief ecclesiastical dignities, and that no foreigners, viz. natives of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, &c. although they were to be allowed to reside and to traffic in Spanish America, were eligible to any ecclesiastical benefice even if named by the king himself *. And yet of five hundred and fifty ecclesiastics who have been advanced to the episcopal dignity in America, only fifty-five were natives.

3rd. *Intellectual and moral.*

A few extracts from the mass of evidence before us will fully illustrate and prove the moral debasement to which the Spaniards endeavoured to reduce their descendants in America. No science was allowed to be studied, the acquirements permitted being the Latin grammar, ancient philosophy, theology, civil and canonical jurisprudence, and the jargon of the schools, which of whatever equivocal advantage they might be to ecclesiastics, could be of no possible utility to the youth of the laity. Even a nautical school formed at Buenos-Ayres, at the expense of the board of trade, was suppressed by the viceroy, D. Joaquin del Pino, in compliance with orders from Spain. The few schools for the study of mathematics were shut.

Don Juan Franciso, an Opata chief, travelled to Mexico on foot, a distance of five hundred leagues, and then crossed the ocean to Madrid, to solicit a grant for the sole purpose of teaching his fellow Indians the first rudiments of learning; but his re-

* Ley. 31, tit. 6, lib. 1; ley. 32, tit. 2, lib. 2; ley. 29, tit. 6, lib. 1. Solorzano, Polit. In. lib. 3. cap. 14.

quest was refused by the council of the Indies in 1798. The cacique, Cirilo de Castella, after soliciting the same favour at Madrid for twenty years, died there without attaining his object.

But the system at last was avowed in all its naked deformity. The city of Merida in Venezuela solicited of Charles the Fourth permission to found an university, and his majesty having consulted the council of the Indies, answered in a royal *cedula*, or decree, that he did not conceive it proper for learning to become general in America.

Of all the modes by which Spain so studiously and so effectually contrived to depress and degrade the people of Spanish America, none was so truly disgraceful to itself and galling to its victims, as the state of intellectual and moral abasement, to which it laboured to reduce them. That a short-sighted government, acting upon the base policy that an ignorant people is most easily retained in slavery, should strive to prevent the acquisition of useful knowledge, may be accounted for; but that a government professing Christianity, and knowing that the natural and inevitable results of such a system must be to produce immorality and vice, should for this very reason the more strenuously enforce it, evinces malignity and perverseness unparalleled.

That such were the objects of the Spanish government in its colonial legislation, of which some specimens have been produced, it would perhaps be harsh to assert; but that such were the melancholy consequences cannot be concealed. Nothing but the native goodness of disposition, acuteness of intellect, and

courage of the natives of Spanish America generally, and the insolent, uncompromising, and infatuated conduct of the Spaniards, could have broken the toils which were wound around them.

A regard for historical truth having drawn forth details discreditable to the Spanish character, candour and justice call for the more agreeable task of giving some bright exceptions amidst the corruption and injustice which enveloped Spanish America.

The viceroy Manso retired from the viceregal government of Peru in honourable poverty, and afterwards gained a subsistence in Spain, by becoming a schoolmaster.

Santelices, born in Spain and educated at Salamanca, was governor of Potosi in the reign of Charles the Third. He soon perceived the abuse of power, the prostitution of justice, and the general abandonment of duty which pervaded every department. His upright and strenuous endeavours to correct some of those evils served only to create enemies of those interested in perpetuating abuses. Remonstrances and appeals against his unpalatable reforms were made to the *real audiencia* of Charcas; which tribunal, sympathizing but too feelingly with the complainants, issued repeated royal ordinances against the innovations of the governor. Finding all endeavours to force him to swerve from the path of rectitude ineffectual, these powerful and artful enemies tried the temptation of wealth and the allurements of beauty to induce him to commit some act that would compromise or form a colourable pretext for deposing him. He dexterously avoided the snare, by inviolably adhering to a resolution never to grant a

private audience to any individual. Worn out, however, at length, by this unequal struggle, he determined to visit Madrid, and to expose in person the mal-administration of Peru; but he died on his passage home, not without some suspicion of poison.

The history of Gonzalez Montoya, governor of Puno in 1800, and now living, would be merely a repetition of the same story, with the exception that the result was less tragical. He not only contrived to return in safety to Spain, but had the firmness to present himself at the bar of the cortes at Cadiz, and to expose, with energetic eloquence, the whole system; declaring that the acts of the governors in Spanish America were one tissue of *barbaridades*.

Don Antonio Raya, bishop of Cuzco, gave in alms 370,000 dollars in eight years. Don Gaspar Villaroel, archbishop of Charcas, was a wise and virtuous prelate, whose memory is held in the highest respect. The bishops in Peru were generally virtuous and charitable. It was seldom that the episcopal bench was disgraced by a character like that of Santa y Ortega, bishop of La Paz, promoted by Ferdinand to a richer bishopric in Spain.

Amongst the *oidores* were not wanting judges of incorruptible probity, as, for instance, Don Jozé Portilla Galves, president of the *real audiencia* of Cuzco, and his contemporary judge Moscoso. The *oidor* Villota, who quitted the *real audiencia* of Lima so lately as 1821, was a shining example of integrity and love of justice. The patriots made many unavailing efforts to induce this ornament of the bar to remain in Lima.

To the honour of the Spaniard, also, be it re-

membered, that he is the mildest slave-master in the world; and this redeeming trait has descended to his transatlantic progeny. In the extensive provinces of the river Plata, and in Chile, few proprietors possess more than a small number of slaves, who, in most cases, in ordinary and peaceful times, were born, and lived, and died, without having been transferred to another owner. As children, they were the playmates of the juvenile part of their master's family; and, as adults, placed nearer upon a footing of equality than exists between master and servant in some European countries. The moderate importation of negroes only made this difference, that the creole negro considered himself far superior to his sable brother from Africa.

CHAPTER II.

Loyalty of Spanish Americans contrasted with the Conduct of Spaniards.—H. B. M. S. Acasta.—Agents of King Joseph expelled.—Conduct of Iturrigaray.—Liniers.—Central Junta.—Regency.—Cortes.—People of Caracas in 1808.—Marquess Wellesley.—Constitutional Measures of the Americans.—Injustice of the Spanish Government.—Exterminating Character of the War.—Truxillo.—Calleja.—Monteverde.—Boves.—Morillo.—Horrid Executions.—States of Spanish America declare their Independence.

HAVING in the preceding chapter presented some instances of the system of oppression pursued by the Spaniards in America, it becomes necessary to trace the natural and intimate connexion between the obstinate perseverance in such system, and its results as shown in the sequel of this work. Such an explanation is rendered the more necessary by the partial view that appears to have been generally taken of the origin and motives of the contest which has terminated in the emancipation of Spanish America.

The Spanish Americans are accused by the king and people of Spain, not only of rebellion, but of an ungrateful and base desertion of the mother country at the moment when she was a prey to foreign invasion. But it will appear upon due investigation that the reverse was the case, and that the charge of disloyalty both to king and country can, with more truth, be retorted upon Spaniards themselves. It was in fact the attempts of Spaniards to betray Spanish America to the Buonapartean dynasty that first

aroused the enthusiastic loyalty of the natives towards their then in reality beloved Ferdinand, and it was the cruelty exercised by Spaniards, which was with unaccountable weakness sanctioned by Ferdinand himself after his restoration, that converted their loyalty into contempt, and their love into disgust.

With regard to the mother country and France, national antipathy; the insidious means employed by Buonaparte to accomplish his views upon the Peninsula; and, above all, the fears entertained by the clergy of the introduction of French principles; all concurred in exciting among the peasantry of Spain a determined, simultaneous, and heroic opposition to the invaders. Many nobles, men of letters, and distinguished officers, and indeed persons of every class, made common cause with the mass of the people, and displayed a devotedness, a perseverance, and love of their king, that reflect the highest honour upon the Spanish character; but many, very many exceptions must be made amongst the higher orders of society, who with the majority of the public functionaries, joined, or were evidently disposed to join in betraying their country, and with it their colonies, to the French dynasty. It would appear that those men considered themselves as the hereditary proprietors of seventeen millions of slaves in America; and viewing the power which the French empire had then attained, as perhaps the only means of ensuring the continued subjection of these slaves, they were content to purchase the assistance of Buonaparte by placing their king and country at his feet.

Alcedo, the governor of Corunna, and Morla, the

governor of Cadiz, both highly distinguished for talent and influence, made great efforts to oppose the French when hostilities commenced; but they deserted the cause, and went over to king Joseph. The Spanish authorities, whether of the French party or whether faithful to their captive sovereign, were alike determined that the Americans should remain in bondage. But the latter, like the peasantry of Spain, determined not to be the victims of such flagitious conduct. They had, during the first struggles in the Peninsula against the French, contributed by the most generous sacrifices to what they considered the common cause of the monarchy. For this object they levied and forwarded to Spain upwards of ninety millions of dollars. Many of the most distinguished youth crossed the Atlantic, and joined the standard raised in behalf of the imprisoned Ferdinand. Indeed the devoted loyalty of the Americans at this period was carried to a length almost incredible, when the tyranny which had been exercised over them is considered. So fully was the Spanish government impressed with the conviction of their fidelity, that a few hundred men were thought a sufficient garrison for a whole viceroyalty*.

Such was their veneration for the king, which in the case of Ferdinand was heightened by his misfortunes, that it was not uncommon with many Americans to touch their hats whenever they mentioned his name.

On the cession of the crown to Buonaparte, orders

* In peaceful times less than two thousand Spanish regulars have garrisoned the line of country extending from Puenos Ayres to Lima and Quito. In a more turbulent period five hundred regulars formed the garrison of all Chile, and of these, three hundred were constantly employed against the Araucanian Indians.

were sent out from Bayonne to every part of Spanish America, signed by Ferdinand; by the council of the Indies; and countersigned by the minister Azanza, for a general transfer of allegiance to Joseph. It was provided at the same time, that the Spaniards in America were to preserve their dignities and employments under the new dynasty. So perfectly was this act of the Spanish government in unison with the feelings and views of the Spanish local authorities in America, that when Captain Beaver of H. B. M. S. Acasta demanded, of the governor of Caracas, a French ship, which had conveyed to La Guayra agents and printed papers from king Joseph, he was answered that his ship would be fired upon from the batteries if he attempted to capture the imperial flag. (See Appendix A.) But the Americans, disgusted with the conduct of their governors, burned the proclamations of Joseph Buonaparte, and expelled his agents.

Iturrigaray, viceroy of Mexico, was one of the very few of the Spanish authorities who spurned the offers of the intrusive king. He had, in common with others, received a confirmation of his employment from Joseph, but he refused to compromise his dignity and loyalty. On the 5th of August, 1808, the municipality of Mexico presented to Iturrigaray an address requesting, in consequence of the imprisonment of king Ferdinand, "the convocation of a *junta* of the tribunals and constituted authorities in the capital." Acknowledging that the emergency had occurred which rendered such a measure not only legal and constitutional, but absolutely necessary, the viceroy expressed his determination to comply with the re-

quest. But the other Spanish authorities and merchants were no sooner apprized of the loyal and patriotic intentions of the viceroy, than they secretly collected a body of troops; arrested him in his palace; and, with many personal indignities sent him, after a lapse of time, a prisoner to Spain. Venegas, the viceroy appointed to succeed him, was the bearer of rewards and honours to the principal agents in this act of rebellion.

Liniers, acting as viceroy of Buenos Ayres, in a proclamation to the inhabitants, informed them that "the emperor of the French returned them his thanks for the glorious defence that they had made against the English." Emparan and Goyeneche, who had both sworn allegiance to king Joseph, were sent out from Cadiz, the first appointed to a command in Venezuela; the second to a command in Peru.

The supreme central junta, on the approach of the French army to the Guadalquivir, retired from Seville to the Isla de Leon. It was composed of eighty-six individuals, who assuming the entire government of the nation, did not forget, it is said, to serve themselves when distributing honours and other sweets of office. It was strongly suspected they had made up their minds to compromise matters with the French; or, at least, it was evident they wished to possess the means of doing so. Indeed so barefaced were the disloyal designs of many of the members of the junta, that they became at last objects of hatred, and they were afraid, on account of the indignation of the people, to appear in the daytime in the streets of Cadiz. It was now proved by intercepted correspondence from

Soult, and by other convincing evidence, that the intentions of the junta in retiring to Cadiz, had been to surrender that place to the French. That they would have succeeded in this design, little doubt can be entertained, had it not been for the opportune and unexpected arrival of the duke of Albuquerque with twelve thousand troops, who by marching to Cadiz had disobeyed the express orders of the junta, who considered one thousand men only a sufficient garrison. Notwithstanding the rapidity of Albuquerque's movement, it was with difficulty he reached the Isla before the French, who skirmished with his rear-guard on the march.

The preservation of Cadiz, however, cost the heroic Albuquerque his life. The disappointed junta soon afterwards deprived him of his military command, and he was sent on a mission to England where he died, at the age of thirty-seven, of chagrin, caused by what he considered the traitorous conduct and base ingratitude of the members of the junta. Actuated by the same principles, they had refused to admit more than two British regiments into Cadiz, and thwarted in every possible way the plans and propositions of sir Arthur and the marquess Wellesley. The people of Cadiz and of the Isla de Leon would no longer endure the traitorous junta: it was accordingly dissolved, but not before it had appointed a regency of five individuals to succeed to the government.

The same unjust, avaricious, and prevaricating policy towards Spanish America continued. The ultramarine possessions had been declared by the

junta to be integral parts of the Spanish empire, and their rights to representation in the general cortes. But these rights, recognised in theory, were trampled on, or entirely disregarded in practice. The Americans had no intervention in the naming of the regency, for which purpose, according to Spanish laws, a cortes ought to have been previously assembled.

The council of regency, at the instigation of Mejias, deputy for Quito, passed a decree dated May 17, permitting the colonies to trade with foreign nations in all the articles of their own product, for which there was not a vent in old Spain. This decree, morally just and politically wise, gave offence to the merchants of Cadiz, on whom the regency were in a great measure dependent, for the means of continuing their feeble and slippery government. This decree was therefore revoked on the 17th of June, and the regency had the meanness to declare that it was not authentic, but an imposition on the public; as if it would have suffered a forgery to have the force of law for a month, in the very place where the regency resided, without protesting against it. Was it possible that a government so pitifully mean, cunning, and fraudulent could be respected in the colonies?

On the 15th July, 1808, the people of Caracas, in despite of the intrigues and resistance of the Spanish authorities, took by acclamation a solemn oath of allegiance to Ferdinand the Seventh. In giving an account of this proceeding to the junta or government at Cadiz, the captain-general and *audiencia* of Caracas thought it politic to palliate the act by de-

claring that " they had permitted it in consequence of the clamours and repeated messages of the people and *cabildo*."

A decree of Charles the Fifth in 1530, confirmed by Philip the Second in 1563, authorised, in cases of emergency, the convocation of cortes, or of general juntas in the respective kingdoms of Spanish America. The natives of these kingdoms found themselves at this period placed in one of the emergencies thus provided for. During the temporary suspension of the authority of the crown, by the imprisonment of Ferdinand, they determined to defeat the disloyal machinations of the Spanish authorities, and to save themselves from the yoke of France by the exercise of the right legally and constitutionally vested in them. Their motives and views will, perhaps, be best given in their own words as expressed in the appeal of the junta of Caracas to the king of England, dated June 1, 1810, and presented in July of that year to the British government.

" America remembers well that in the first moments when the irruption of the French troops into Spain and the captivity of her monarch occasioned a dread that the Spanish sections of the new world might be incorporated under the French yoke.

. . . . . .

" To proclaim the same cause as our brethren in Europe, to swear an endless hatred to France, to invoke the friendship and protection of England was the impulse of Caracas; was the lesson she gave to the other provinces of America; and such were the sentiments unanimously manifested by the loyal in-

habitants of this city, sentiments which subsequent events have tended only to strengthen and to ratify.

. . . . . .

"Caracas listened to no other voice than that of honour, she was actuated by no other impulse than that of loyalty, nor did she proclaim allegiance to any other name than that of her unfortunate monarch."

But these noble and generous views did not accord with the policy either of the Spanish government, or of the Spaniards in America. The regency in its proclamation, dated Sept. 6, 1810, manifests its ulterior objects. "No basta," said the regents, "que seais Españoles si no sois de España, y lo sois en qualquiera caso de la fortuna." It is not sufficient that you be Spanish subjects, but know that you must continue to belong to Spain under every event of fortune.

When a deputy of Mexico proposed to the cortes to mortgage the Mexican mines, in order to raise money to carry on the war against France, on condition that if the French finally prevailed, then, and in that case alone, America should be allowed to establish and defend her independence, his offer was treated with disdain, and rejected as revolutionary. By acceding to such proposal, the government at Cadiz would have restored peace and confidence to the Americans, by convincing them that it was not intended to yoke them to the car of Napoleon.

Many more facts might be adduced in proof of the disloyalty of the Spaniards in America, and of the government at Cadiz, as well as of the fidelity and

indeed romantic loyalty of Spanish Americans; but it is presumed, that the proofs which have already been given are sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous. It may however be due to the cause of truth to produce one important testimony given at a period when the executive of Spain had not dared openly to display its views; but it could not entirely conceal them from the vigilant and penetrating eye of the Marquess Wellesley. That able statesman, in a letter to Mr. Canning, dated September 15, 1809, says, " Whether this ill-formed government is sincerely affected or not to the cause of Spain and her allies, is certainly dubious."

The justice of the Marquess's suspicions became apparent by the conduct of the Spanish government in 1810. Its proclamations, and the characters selected as agents to Spanish America, betrayed at once its ulterior intentions. But the blind loyalty of America baffled equally the views of the Spanish government, and the efforts of its agents in America.

To avoid anarchy, and to preserve inviolate their allegiance to Ferdinand, the sections had recourse to the convocation of general juntas, which was the only constitutional means afforded them. And yet this step, the only legal measure that a people so circumstanced could have taken to preserve the tranquillity, and to demonstrate their devoted attachment, proved to be the signal for the declaration of hostilities by Spain, and the commencement of a war of extermination.

So infatuated was the conduct of the government

at Cadiz, that after the French had been allowed to take possession of the whole of Spain, except the Isla de Leon, and another place or two of minor importance, it directed its entire energies against the people of America. With characteristic virulence it fitted out, not with its own resources, for it possessed none, but with the funds supplied by the devoted loyalty of America, and the arms and clothing afforded for a widely different purpose by England, expeditions exceeding, if possible, in cruelty and injustice those of Cortes and Pizarro. The nature of the war which, under such circumstances, and with such means, they declared and carried on, could not be adequately described, except in the words of the official despatches of the officers who were employed in conducting it, as published in the official royalist gazettes of Mexico.

The commandant Bustamante in his despatch, to the viceroy, dated Zitaquaro, Oct. 23, 1811, recommends Mariano Ochoa, a dragoon, "who in pursuing the insurgents had a brother who knelt to him to beg his life, which he took with his own hands."

Don Ignacio Garcia Revollo in his despatch, to the viceroy, dated Queretaro, Nov. 23, 1811, recommends serjeant Francisco Montes "as deserving the rank of an officer, for, amongst other gallant actions, he killed one of his own nephews, who, making himself known, received for answer, that he knew no nephew amongst insurgents."

General Truxillo, in another despatch, boasts that he ordered his men to fire upon a flag of truce from

Hidalgo, accompanied by a banner of the Holy Virgin, and adds, that he did not expect to be troubled in that sort of way again. Every person with the flag of truce was murdered.

General Calleja informs the viceroy that in the affair of Aculco he had one man killed and two wounded; but that he put to the sword 5000 seduced Indians, and that their total loss amounted to double the number. Most of them were killed as they were kneeling for mercy.

The same general entered Guanaxuato with fire and sword, where 14,000 old men, women, and children perished, because the insurgent army had taken up its quarters there, but by a timely retreat had escaped his fury. Calleja soon after received from the regency of Cadiz the rank of *mariscal de campo* and the viceroy the cross of the order of Charles the Third as a reward for this distinguished service.

Extracts that have been made from only a few of the Gazettes published in Mexico in the years 1811 and 1812, boast of 25,344 of the "insurgents" being killed, 3556 made prisoners, besides 697 shot after surrendering.

Caracas capitulated to General Monteverde in San Mateo on the 25th of July, 1812. The basis of this convention was, that the lives, property, and persons of every citizen should be held sacred; that no one should be prosecuted for previous opinions; in short, general oblivion and amnesty were granted. How the faith of this treaty was preserved will perhaps best appear in the words of a respectable English

gentleman, who was an eye-witness of the scenes which he describes, and whose statement was transmitted to the Admiralty by one of the English commanders on the West India station.

"Monteverde caused to be arrested nearly every creole of rank throughout the country; he then had them chained in pairs, and conducted to the dungeons of La Guayra and Porto Cabello, where many of them perished by suffocation or disease." In another part of his statement he says, "Were I to detail all the horrid excesses committed by Boves and Rosette, on the route from the river Oronoco to the valleys of Caracas, it would be scarcely possible to find a reader who could believe such scenes of slaughter and devastation credible. Some idea, however, of the melancholy facts may be conceived, when I assert that these monsters, in traversing a space of more than four hundred miles, left no human being alive of any age or sex, except such as joined their standard."

Boves condemned a patriot to suffer death. A boy under twelve years of age threw himself at the feet of the tyrant, and implored his father's life. Boves said, "Yes; upon condition that you will have an ear cut off without changing countenance." "That I will readily do," said the boy. "But remember," said Boves, "that the smallest flinch will be the death warrant of your father." The ear was then cut off with a knife. Boves watched the boy, who bore the mangling operation with astonishing fortitude. When it was over, instead of performing

his promise, Boves said, "I can see very well that you will be a more terrible enemy to Spain than your father has been; therefore you shall be shot before his eyes." It is needless to add, that both father and son were instantly executed.

And yet the royalists did not always escape with impunity. In a battle which the patriots lost near the Apure, a Frenchman was taken prisoner amongst other officers. The royalist commander said to him, "So, monsieur, you are a great patriot." "I am," said the Frenchman, "and I hate the Spaniards most cordially." "Mighty well," rejoined the other; "now you shall pay for your hatred." "You shall pay first," said the Frenchman, and drawing his sword, laïd the commander dead at his feet. The troops around sprung upon the undaunted Frenchman, but did not despatch him until he had slain or wounded several of his assailants.

It would be disgusting to enter into farther details of this ferocious warfare. Under all these dreadful sufferings, the unfortunate Americans, with scarcely an exception, still preserved their infatuated loyalty, under the faint hope of the return of Ferdinand, and under the conviction that his restoration would prove the harbinger of relief and of redress. Their feelings may then be easily conceived when they found that, after all the sacrifices they had made, this eagerly desired event, when it did occur, so far from affording any alleviation to their miseries or wrongs, proved only the signal for renewed oppression and still bloodier massacres. So far was he from wishing to reward their long tried loyalty, or from endeavour-

ing to conciliate, the commission of atrocities in America formed with him the chief merit and the highest claim. In reward for the violation of the most solemn capitulations, for the boasted murder of the bearers of flags of truce, and for the most cold-blooded and indiscriminate slaughter, they beheld Monteverde, Callejas, Cruz, Truxillo, and other execrable monsters, loaded by Ferdinand with rewards, and covered with decorations.

The Americans recollected that Charles the Fifth, the proudest and most powerful monarch of his time, had, in a case of similar injustice, but not of similar sacrifices on the part of his subjects, listened benignantly to their complaints, and sent out the *Licenciado* Gasca with full powers to redress their grievances, which he effected. The slightest indication of a benevolent inclination towards them would even still have preserved to Ferdinand an empire, and to the Spanish nation brothers and faithful allies, much richer and more powerful than themselves. But Heaven had decreed that justice and right should take their course, and that centuries of misrule, oppression, and cruelty, should at last, through their own instrumentality, meet their merited punishment.

Perhaps nothing will excite more surprise than the circumstance that America did not find in the cortes a few sincere, generous, and powerful advocates, nor amongst those *liberales* who at the same period spoke and wrote with equal freedom and ability upon abuses of power nearer home. The chains of America might indeed have been lightened and burnished by the

constitutionalists, but the unanimity of parties on colonial questions forbade the South Americans to indulge in the hope that a single link would willingly be removed.

The imbecile Ferdinand did not even vouchsafe to listen to their complaints, although, with the exception of Caracas, they still persisted in their mistaken loyalty to this heartless sovereign for three long years after his restoration. During this period, the feelings and conduct of the Spanish government varied not, nor had its appetite for carnage been satiated.

The following is a list of individuals who suffered death and confiscation of property (without trial, or in violation of amnesties), in New Grenada, in consequence of the entrance of the Spanish troops under the command of General D. Pablo Morillo, in the year 1816, taken from official documents transmitted to the court of Madrid:

Carthagena.

Dates.	Names.	Kind of punishment.
Feb. 26.	D. D. Manuel Castillo.	Shot through the back *.
	D. D. José Ma. Portocarrero	
	D. D. José Ma. Garcia Toledo	
	D. D. Miguel Dias Granados	
	D. D. Antonio de Ayos	
	D. Pantaleon Ribon	
	D. Martin Amador	
	D. Santiago Stuart	
	D. Manuel Auguiano, a Spaniard, and colonel of engineers.	

Mompox and Ocana.

Feb.	D. Miguel Carabano	Ditto.
	D. Fernando Carabano	

* Persons are placed with their backs towards the executioners of their sentence, with the intent of treating them with greater ignominy.

Santa Fé de Bogota.

Dates.	Names.	Kind of punishment.
May 26.	Juan Maria	Shot through the back.
June 6.	D. Antonio Villavicencio	
19.	D. D. Ignacio Bargas	
	D. José Ramon de Leiba, lieutenant-colonel and secretary to the viceroyalty	
	D. José Contreras	
	D. José Maria Carbonell	Gibbeted.
July 5.	D. Jorge Lozano	Shot through the back.
	D. D. José Gregorio Guiterrez	
	D. D. Emerigildo Benitez	
	D. D. Miguel Pombo	
	D. D. Fran. Xavier Garcia Hevia	
	D. D. Cristiano Valenzuela	
20.	D. Antonio Baraya	
	D. Pedro Lastra	
Aug. 8.	D. D. Custodio Garcia Ribera	Shot, and placed on a gibbet.
	D. Hermogenes Cespedes	*Shot through the back.*
	D. D. Tomas Antonio Peña	
	D. N. Navas	
13.	D. José Ayala	
29.	D. D. Joaquin Hoyos	
31.	D. D. Joaquin Camacho	
	D. Nicolas Rivas	
Sept. 3.	D. Liborio Megia	
	D. Andres Linares	
	D. Silvestre Hortiz	
	D. Feliz Pelgron	
	D. Rafael Niño	
	D. Pasqual Andreu	
	D. D. Martin Cortez	
11.	D. Dionisio Tejada	
19.	D. José Cifuentas	
	D. Bernarbé Gonzalez	
	D. José Maria Ordoñez	
	D. José Antonio Valdez	
30.	D. D. Manuel Bernardo Alvarez	
	D. D. José Maria Arrublas	
	D. Joaquin Garcia, escribano	
Oct. 5.	D. D. Manuel Rodriguez Tonces	Shot, placed on a gibbet, their heads cut off, and placed in a cage at the entrance of the city.
	D. D. Camilo Torices	

Dates.	Names.	Kind of punishment.
	The Count de Casa Valencia	Shot through the back.
	D. Pedro Felipe Valencia (colonel)	
	D. D. José Maria Davila	
Oct. 12.	D. Salvador Rizo	
	D. Pablo Morillo	
22.	D. Francisco Cabal	
24.	D. Francisco de Paula Aguilar	
	D. Vicente Monzalve	
30.	D. D. Francisco de Ulloa	
	D. D. Miguel Montalvo	
	D. D. Francisco Caldas	
	D. Miguel Buch	
Nov. 8.	D. D. José Maria Chacon	
	Six soldiers	
21.	D. Francisco Morales	
	Two soldiers.	
27.	D. Nicolas Nueva Ventura	
	D. Miguel Gomez Plata, aged 80	Shot, after being tortured three times*.
Decem.	D. Antonio Campuzano	Ditto.
	D. N. Ponce	
	A distinguished individual of Ambalema	

Zipaquira.

Aug. 3.	D. Augustin Zapata	Shot, gibbeted, and his head cut off.
	D. Juan Figueroa	Shot.
	D. Francisco Zarate	
	D. José Gomez	
	D. Luis Sanchez	
	D. José Riano Cortez	

Facarativa.

Aug. 31.	D. Mariano Grillo	Ditto.
	D. Joaquin Grillo	

Mesa de Juan Diaz.

Oct. 7.	D. Francisco Olaya	Ditto.
	D. Andres Quijano	

* This individual came to London in 1814, with Colonel Duran, commissioned by the province of Socorro to purchase muskets, and, on his return, he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and was tortured, for the purpose of forcing him to declare whether the English government, or any house in London, sold him the arms which he brought with him from Europe, but nothing could be extracted from him.

Villa de Leyba.

Dates.	Names.	Kind of punishment.
Oct. 27.	D. Manuel José Sanchez	Shot.
	D. Juan Bautista Gomez	
	D. Joaquin Vinana	

Tunja.

Sept. 20.	D. Santiago Abdon Herrera	Ditto.
	D. Antonio Palacio	
	D. Alberto Montero	
	D. Ignacio Palaza	
	D. Manuel Otero	

Neiba.

26.	D. D. Luis Garcia	Ditto.
	D. José Dias	
	D. Benito Salas	
	D. Fernando Salas	Shot through the back.
	D. Francisco Lopez	
	D. José Maria Lopez	
	D. Miguel Tello	

Popayan.

July 8.	D. Augustin Rosas	Shot through the back.
	D. José España	
	D. Rafael Latáza	
10.	D. Carlos Montufar (lieut.-colonel)	
Aug.	D. D. Miguel Angulo	
	D. Emerigildo Troyano	
	D. D. José Antonio Ardila	
	D. Pedro Monzalve	
	D. José Monzalve	
	Serjeant Basquez	
	D. José Acuña	
Aug. 22.	D. José Maria Cabal	
	D. José Maria Quijano	
	D. Mariano Matute	
	D. José Maria Guiterrez	
29.	D. José Maria Ramirez	
Sept. 24.	D. D. Manuel Vallecilla	
Oct.	D. José Pino and D. Jozé Navia	
	D. D. Frutos Guiterrez	
	The officers Salias, Vaez, Olmedilla, and two more.	
30.	D. D. Leon Armero	
Nov. 28.	D. D. Juan Nepomuceno Niño	
	D. D. Cayetano Vasquez	
	D. Pedro Manuel Montano	
	D. José Buitrago	
Dec. 12.	D. D. Francisco Antonio Caicedo	
	D. Joaquim Villacella	
	D. José Maria Perlaza	

Another report says, "General Morillo entered Santa Fé de Bogota in the month of June, 1816, and remained there till November following. More than six hundred persons, of those who had been in the congress and provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged, or exiled, and the prisons remained full of others who were yet waiting their fate. Amongst those executed were the botanists Don J. Caldas and D. Juan Lozano (who had been ordered by the congress of New Grenada to publish the works of Dr. Mutis); D. M. Cabal, an eminent chymist; D. C. Torres, highly distinguished for his learning; D. J. G. Guiterrez Moreno and Don M. R. Torices, both well known for their early devotion to the cause of their country; Don Antonio Palacio-Fajar; D. J. M. Guiterrez; D. Miguel Pombo; D. F. A. Ulloa; and many other learned and estimable characters. The wives of persons executed or exiled by Morillo were themselves exiled." The names mentioned in this account are not included in the preceding official list. The active agent of Ferdinand, General Morillo, in a letter to his master, published in the *Diario Mercantil* of Cadiz, 6th of January, 1817, observes, that "his work is to be done in precisely the same manner as the primitive conquest was established;" and boastingly assures his majesty "that he has not left alive, in the kingdom of New Grenada, a single individual of sufficient influence or talent to conduct the revolution." On his return to Spain, Morillo was received into special favour, and created Count of Carthagena.

It was not until above one million of Spanish Americans had been victims; until almost every Spaniard, whom, with a blind generosity, they had retained in situations of trust, had deceived and betrayed them; until they found no hope left, from either prince or people, that the film fell from the eyes of the natives. They at length discovered that the phantom which they had hitherto worshipped was unable to protect and unwilling to serve them, and that they had been, under the King's name, the victims of treachery, avarice, and cruelty.

Upon this discovery, the spirit of enlightened patriotism walked abroad. Their duties to their children, and to the land of their nativity, became at once apparent. The kingdoms of a vast continent immediately, and almost simultaneously, declared their independence; and, in the assertion of their rights, placed their whole reliance upon the justice of their cause and the goodness of their swords.

The chequered events, and glorious issue, of this sacred contest, are partly sketched in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

Buenos Ayres.—Banda Oriental.—Contrabandistas.—Artigas.—Beresford.—Whitelock.—Princess Carlota.—Cisneros.—Junta Gubernativa.—Moreno.—Elio.—Obes.—Ocampo.—Balcarce.—Cotagaita.—Tupiza.—Castelli.—Paraguay.—Francia.—Goyeneche.—Huaqui.—Saavedra.—Monte Video.—Rondeau.—Tucuman.—Gobierno Superor.—San Lorenzo.—San Martin.—Salta.—Tristan.—Belgrano.—Vilcapugio.—Ayoma.—Supreme Director.—Arenales.—Warnes.—Alvear.—Monte Video.—Sipe-Sipe.—Viluma.—Congress.—Puyrredon.—Pumacagua.—Pezuela.—La Serna.—Gauchos.

As Buenos Ayres may be considered to be the cradle of South American independence, a brief historical sketch of this nursery of freedom in the Spanish dominions of the new world may not prove uninteresting.

Buenos Ayres was a town of little note until the year 1776, when it received a distinguished rank among the cities of South America, by its being erected into the capital of the newly formed vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres. The false idea of political economy, which at that time led Spain to value her colonies only according to their abundance or deficiency in mines of gold or silver, caused the more solid advantages which Buenos Ayres possessed in the salubrity of its climate, in the richness of its

soil, and in the superiority of its position for agricultural and commercial purposes, to be overlooked. These advantages, however, in process of time, and in defiance of the ignorance and prejudices of its rulers, gradually produced their natural results; and Buenos Ayres, enlarging its trade by extending its connexions, rose to be a place of considerable importance; but this improvement was interrupted by accidental circumstances.

The Spaniards and Portuguese have, by a singular fatality, been destined to be neighbours and rivals, not only in the old but in the new world. *(See Appendix, B.)* The possession of the neighbouring colony of Brasil enabled the Portuguese, by means of the immense and thinly inhabited intervening territory of the Banda Oriental, to organize a system of contraband which nearly annihilated regular and legitimate commerce.

The desperate character of the agents employed in this illicit trade; their local knowledge of the pathless country and sinuous shores on the eastern side of the *Plata*, rendered vain every effort of the Spanish government to check the ruinous progress of the evil. To such a pitch, indeed, had the insolence of these daring outlaws arrived, that they negotiated their bargains sword in hand, and sometimes murdered the very person with whom they had just had transactions of business. An evil so desperate in its nature could be cured only by a desperate remedy, and the means adopted by the Spanish government were not more extraordinary than efficacious. The most

noted and resolute of all these smugglers was selected to subdue his companions, and destroy the system, and the choice fell upon Don Fernando José de Artigas, who afterwards took so conspicuous a lead in the revolution.

Artigas was a native of Monte Video. His father, Don Martin Artigas, was an *haciendado*, or gentleman of landed property, in the immediate vicinity of that town. The deficiency of the means of education which, owing to the Machiavellian policy of Spain, then existed throughout all the colonies, confined the literary acquirements of young Artigas to a knowledge of reading and writing, and his employments to horsemanship, superintending his father's herds, and trafficking in hides not only with the inhabitants of Monte Video, but with the *contrabandistas*. In consequence of these occupations, and his constant intercourse with the lawless strangers, he acquired a licentiousness of manners, and an attachment to an independent and unsettled life, which induced him very soon to emancipate himself not only from paternal control, but from the jurisdiction of the public authorities. In concert with these bold characters, he commenced by making predatory excursions, until, at length, associating entirely with the banditti, he became the terror of the whole country. Surpassing his companions in their knowledge of the secret paths, the hiding-places, and, in short, in the *arcana* of the plains, no less than he excelled them in bodily strength, horsemanship, daring courage, and superior talents,

he soon acquired that ascendancy which, under such circumstances, those qualities are calculated to command.

The name of Artigas struck terror into the hearts not only of the people of the country, but of the Spanish authorities, and afterwards of the whole body of *contrabandistas*, whether of Spanish or Portuguese origin. These marauders, bold and ferocious as they were, contemplated, with astonishment and admiration, the sagacity with which he conceived, and the unyielding resolution with which he executed, his various plans when at the head of his boys ("*muchachos*,") as he styled them, he from time to time foiled the officers of justice, and scattered the parties of militia sent to apprehend him. It is reported that, upon one occasion, when pursued in the plains, and finding his farther retreat impracticable from the worn out state of his horses, he killed a number of them, and from behind a parapet constructed of their dead bodies, maintained so destructive a fire upon his pursuers, as to compel them to retire with considerable loss. The judicial proceedings of this new provost-marshal were not characterized by the elaborate forms of ordinary courts of law. The notoriety of the crime was considered as a sufficient reason for consigning the delinquent to instant execution, without any other ceremony or religious preparation than the *credo cemaron*, a sort of mockery of confession by the hurried repetition of prayers which, rather from ignorance than irreligion, formed an unintelligible jargon. But when the cri-

minals were numerous, and he felt indisposed to waste powder, he used to bind them in the skins of cattle newly slain, and leave them with only the head at liberty, so that in proportion as the hide became dry and shrunk up, the space allotted for the body contracted until the unfortunate sufferer expired in the extreme of agony and despair. This mode of incarcerating and tormenting criminals was styled *enchipar*, but its extreme barbarity can scarcely be extenuated by the plea, that there existed neither prisons nor guards in those deserts, and that the ferocious and murderous habits of the criminals required such dreadful examples.

Artigas was in person well proportioned and of ordinary stature. His countenance was mild, and expressive of amiability. He was somewhat bald, and of a fair complexion, which constant exposure to sun and weather had not darkened. Dean Funes describes him to be a man who united to extreme sensibility the appearance of coldness; a most insinuating urbanity to decent gravity; a daring frankness to courtesy; an exalted patriotism to a fidelity at times suspicious; the language of peace to a native inclination to discord; and a lively love of independence to extravagant notions as to the mode of achieving it.

The viceroy of Buenos Ayres offered Artigas an amnesty for the past, and gave him hopes of an honourable promotion, if he would undertake to put an end to the clandestine commerce and depredations of the Portuguese smugglers, and clear the country of banditti. Never did the pardon of a public criminal produce a more signal and immediate benefit.

He applied the whole powers of his mind and body so efficaciously to the task of rooting out the numerous bands of vagabonds, robbers, and smugglers, by whom the country had been overrun, that in a short time the authority of the government became respected, and private property secured to a degree that had never been attained in the most peaceful and prosperous period.

Such was the dexterity of Artigas in the management of his horse and in the use of his fire-arms; so formidable was his strength, and such the impetuosity of his onset, that the most daring outlaw quailed under his eye, and surrendered to his appalling shout. The effects of his exertions claimed and received the grateful rewards of those whom he had so efficiently served. At the instance of the landed proprietors, he was constituted conservator of the district *(guarda general de la campaña)*, and the appointment was accompanied with a salary adequate to its importance, and to his services. From this period Artigas became an irreconcilable enemy to the Brasilian *contrabandistas*.

Relieved by these energetic measures from the evils which had thus impeded its prosperity, Buenos Ayres advanced so rapidly in population and importance, that, at the period when the ill-starred English expedition of 1806 arrived in the river *Plata*, the inhabitants of the city of Buenos Ayres amounted to 60,000 souls.

The native strength, courage, and energy, displayed on this occasion, and which were so glaringly con-

trasted with the pusillanimity of the few Spaniards who had held this great population in blind obedience, aroused a spirit of military ardour in the mass of the people, and at the same time gave birth, in a few enlightened minds, to a hope of future independence, which subsequent events brought to maturity. Nevertheless, when General Beresford offered in the name of the British government to assist the natives in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and to guarantee their independence, and when General Achmuty sent a flag of truce from Monte Video, in March 1807, to renew the same proposals, they were not listened to, so loyal, at that time, were the Buenos Ayreans. But at length some of the leading characters began to see the necessity of a change, and accordingly Dr. Zuluaga, a highly respectable ecclesiastic, in conjunction with other influential individuals, secretly proposed to General Whitelock, that he should assist the people of Buenos Ayres in establishing their independence of Spain, under the protection of Great Britain, agreeably to the offers made by Generals Beresford and Achmuty, and in conformity to the declaration made by the British ministry in 1797, to Spanish America, inviting its natives to declare their independence, and promising every sort of support. This proposition was declined by the British commander, under the plea of his having received no instructions to that effect. The fact appears to be, that the policy of the British government relative to Spain and her colonies was no longer the same, and the instructions given to

General Whitelock obliged him to adopt a different line of conduct.

If the British had acquired sufficient local and political knowledge of the country, they would not have attempted the conquest of Buenos Ayres, but would have confined their immediate object to the possession of Monte Video, the key of the river *Plata*. From its position and strength, it might have been made the Gibraltar of the eastern coast of the Spanish possessions. Buenos Ayres, on the contrary, is an extensive unwalled city, situated on a gentle elevation in a vast plain, and untenable by any power unsupported by the good will of its inhabitants and the *Gauchos*, or natives of the Pampas.

Whilst the public mind at Buenos Ayres was kept in a state of excitement by the aggression of Napoleon in the Peninsula, the transfer of the court of Lisbon to the Brasils inspired the princess regent of Portugal with the ambition of establishing herself in a similar situation at Buenos Ayres. Her father and brother having, at Bayonne, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, she despatched emissaries to Buenos Ayres to assert her contingent claim, and to concert measures for her residence in that capital. Her proposals were received with enthusiasm, and a warm invitation was sent by the most influential characters of the country, amongst whom were Dr. Castelli, Don Manuel Belgrano, D. Ipolito Vietes, Peña y Chambo. But when her projects were already on the point of being crowned with success, they were rendered abortive by the un-

expected arrival, in May, 1809, of the viceroy Cisneros, who, on ascending the river, touched at Monte Video, and concerted measures with the governor, General Elio, and who, like Cisneros, was a staunch supporter of Ferdinand. * Cisneros * made every effort to fulfil the orders of the court of Madrid to close the ports of the river *Plata* against English trade, which, in spite of repeated prohibition, continued on the increase. Dr. Don Mariano Moreno, an enlightened native, addressed a pamphlet to the viceroy, demonstrating the necessity of remodelling narrow-minded institutions incompatible with national prosperity. This representation elevated Moreno in the opinion of his countrymen, and in the same proportion it attracted the hatred of the Spaniards, who foresaw, in the admission of strangers, an end to their own monopoly.

The merchants of Cadiz and Buenos Ayres assembled, and addressed strong remonstrances, calling upon Cisneros to enforce the colonial laws, and pointing out the imminent danger to religion by opening commercial channels to the English. Peremptory decrees were issued almost from day to-day, ordering the English to withdraw within a specified time, and an *oidor* was appointed to see these decrees duly executed; but they were evaded under different pretexts: and such was the effect of Moreno's paper, that the viceroy was unable to close the ports against the English. Nay, he felt

* Cisneros was sent out to supersede Liniers. He was a flag-officer at the battle of Trafalgar, and was one of the very few saved from *the Santisima Trinidad*.

compelled to connive at British merchants carrying on their trade by means of Spanish consignees; a triumph on the part of Moreno, which removed or diminished some of the difficulties which might have obstructed the progress of the revolution. An additional reason for the acquiescence of Cisneros was the necessity of replenishing an empty treasury, and which could not be done without relaxing the prohibitory system. From this period the principal supporters of Princess Carlota changed their views, and formed plans of ultimately setting up the standard of independence.

After some political struggles, they succeeded in deposing the viceroy, and, on the 25th of May, 1810, named a *junta gubernativa*, composed of nine members, with Don Cornelio de Saavedra as their president *, and Dean Funes and Dr. Don Mariano Moreno, as secretaries.

This last-named gentleman was the soul of the new government, and displayed a genius fitted for the times. He saw the facility of overthrowing a weak government, but he also saw the difficulties of eradicating abuses canonized by the habits of ages, and of substituting any system that should introduce liberty unaccompanied by anarchy. Cisneros and the viceregal authorities still retained a dangerous influence

* About the same time similar feelings had been developed in various and very distant parts of Spanish America. Actuated by the same motives, *Juntas Gubernativas* were formed in Caracas, in Venezuela, 19th April, 1809; La Paz, 15th July, 1809; Quito, 19th August, 1809; Santa Fé de Bogota, 25th May, 1810; Chile, 18th Sept., 1810. On the 16th Sept. 1810, an insurrection took place in the town of Dolores, in Mexico; and so early as the 25th May, 1809, a popular commotion occasioned the deposition of the president Pizarro in Charcas (Upper Peru).

in Buenos Ayres, and in the provinces, where a number of individuals possessing identity of interests were of opinion that the *junta gubernativa* ought to be dissolved, and its members punished.

Under these critical circumstances, Moreno conceived it necessary to effect further and more obvious changes, that the new system might continue to progress. Amongst the *oidores* of the city, was the *fiscal* Caspe; he had long foreseen the consequences of the viceroy having permitted the formation of a governing junta, under pretence that the government of the mother country was in its dotage. Caspe publicly expressed his disapprobation of the *junta* in not reinstating the viceroy, when it became known that the regency was established in the Peninsula. As a *ministro* of the king, he communicated his opinion to the newly constituted authorities. It was received as an insult, and as the forerunner of other measures calculated to endanger the existence of the new order of things. Some patriot officers gave Caspe a severe caning as he quitted an evening party, and assured him that the lesson would be repeated unless he became more guarded in his political conduct. This assault was considered as the act of the *junta*, because the perpetrators were its zealous supporters. It had the desired effect of frightening the adherents of the old form of government.

The hostile feeling arising out of this incident was farther inflamed as the authority of the governing *junta* became more circumscribed, and which was soon reduced to the limits of Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video did not recognise it. In the meanwhile the deposed viceroy despatched secret orders to that and other places, not to acknowledge the receipt of his official letter announcing the installation of the *junta*, nor to obey orders emanating from that board.

The port of Monte Video contained a naval depôt; consequently most of the civil and military officers were Spaniards, as were also the greater part of the garrison, who saw all that was ominous to themselves in the changes at Buenos Ayres. The governor, Elio, took decisive measures to prevent the extension of the authority of the *junta gubernativa* to Monte Video. He arrested Colonel Murgiondo, commanding the finest regiment in the garrison, and who was supposed to be an advocate for changes of government. Notwithstanding this, the Creoles of Monte Video received the news of installation of the *junta* with enthusiasm. They assembled at the municipality, and unanimously resolved that it was expedient to unite with the capital. This resolution, the spontaneous expression of public opinion, was rendered fruitless by the precaution of Elio, and by an individual whose ambition was the original cause of the misfortunes which befel the Banda Oriental.

Dr. Obes, an advocate and official legal adviser of Elio the governor, was a young man of considerable talent, who had entered largely into mercantile and other speculations. He supported the pretensions of the Brasils, which he afterwards abandoned. Desirous of playing a conspicuous part in the approaching revolution, he espoused with great warmth the pro-

posal of making common cause with Buenos Ayres, so long as he indulged in the hope of being appointed one of the *junta;* a post to which he considered his services entitled him. But when he found himself excluded, he changed his plan, and exerted his influence to thwart the views of Buenos Ayres. Without offering direct opposition to the opinions of those assembled at the municipality, he had the art to draw over many of his countrymen in a manner worthy of Machiavel. The meeting having manifested for the second or third time its willingness to coalesce with Buenos Ayres, Obes applauded the idea, but suggested that it ought not to be done unconditionally. This was an idea that had not entered the heated imagination of the people; but falling from the lips of a popular advocate, it was unhesitatingly adopted by a few, and presently after by the majority, which finally resolved that conditions were proper and necessary. But as the meeting knew not what conditions were desirable, nothing was decided upon but to appoint a committee to consider of the terms, or, in other words, to discover their unknown wants. The meeting separated at an early hour in the morning, and was reassembled in the following day. The interval was dexterously employed by Obes in sowing the seeds of dissension. He represented the deposition of the viceroy as an act of criminal folly, at a time when any thing but unfavourable views might be expected from the Peninsula. Chance favoured his scheme. A signal was made for a ship in sight from a transatlantic port; on her arrival a tissue of Eu-

ropean news was forged, which placed peninsular affairs in so favourable a point of view, as to leave the royalist party nothing to wish for. The people taken thus by surprise, and believing the intelligence, transmitted an answer to Buenos Ayres, signifying that varying circumstances prevented them from acknowledging an authority not appointed in a legitimate way by the nation. This was the origin of a schism which has never been closed. Obes went to Buenos Ayres to invite the viceroy to remove to Monte Video; but fearful of arrest, he re-embarked before the *junta* could have an opportunity of giving orders for his apprehension.

Moreno proposed that the viceroy and *oidores* should be banished. A foreign vessel was got ready with the utmost secresy to convey them to the Canaries. Such was the want of means, that the master was to be reimbursed by the *junta* remitting the custom-house duties upon any return cargo of the vessel*. The viceroy and five *oidores* were invited to attend the *junta*, which they did in full uniform, under the impression that the intention was to reinstate his excellency. On arriving at the saloon, a member signified to the six individuals, that in consequence of mal-administration it had been determined to place them before the majesty of the throne. With this laconic intimation they were sent on board; a *pampero* blew; and when the gazette announced, on the following morning, their

* Such was the *moral* of the custom-house, that more goods were passed as the return cargo than could have been stowed away in a line-of-battle ship.

departure, the vessel must have been at least twenty leagues at sea.

This measure had the effect of intimidating the royalist party, and shows the decision of Moreno, in whose hands the helm of state never vacillated so long as he retained his influence; and he had the happy art of infusing zeal into the subaltern officers of every department.

The severity of Moreno's measures differed essentially from the moderate course the party of Saavedra had reduced to practice; and it became impossible that the *junta* could continue to exist constituted in its then divided state. The result was the retirement of Moreno's party, and the removal of its leader, who accepted a mission to England. He died on the passage, in the thirty-third year of his age. His best monument is the public library he founded in his native city of Buenos Ayres.

Moreno excelled as an orator and a writer. As a public man, he was honest, enthusiastic, and laborious. His private character was unimpeachable: he was not acquainted with English literature, but was familiar with that of France. Raynal was his favourite author. Had Moreno resided for a time in England, it is probable that the spirit with which the writings of the French philosophers often inspire the American reader, would have been corrected, and that practical experience would have given him additional power to become permanently useful to his countrymen.

The Buenos Ayreans having succeeded thus far in establishing their eventual independence, directed

their attention to distant points of the viceroyalty Colonel Ocampo, with a division of patriots, was sent against a formidable faction, which, at Cordova, had declared against the new order of things. Liniers, formerly viceroy, and now the leader of the opposite party, was made prisoner, and shot, with governor Concha, Colonels Allende and Rodriguez. These executions took place under the immediate directions of Dr. Castelli, who had been sent from Buenos Ayres for that purpose by the *junta gubernativa*.

Ocampo, successful at Cordova, considerably augmented his forces, but had incurred the displeasure of the *junta* by presuming to represent the risk of having carried into execution the sentence of death passed upon Liniers and his followers, and was recalled. His second in command, Colonel Don Antonio de Balcarce, advanced to liberate the provinces of Upper Peru (now called Bolivia), composed of the departments of Charcas, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cochabamba, and La Paz, and which were formerly comprehended in the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.

On the 27th October, the royalist General Nieto was defeated at Cotagaita, and on the 7th November following, the royalist Colonel Cordova suffered the same fate at Tupiza. These successes gave Balcarce possession of the Upper Peruvian provinces, as far as the bridge of the Inca across *the Desaguadero*, where he augmented his force to about four thousand men.

Castelli was named commissioner, or delegate, as well as governor of Upper Peru, and sent to Pal-

carce's head-quarters, to direct, in the name of the *junta*, the operations of the patriot army, which he joined previous to its arrival at Potosi. Castelli, an advocate of considerable talent, was shrewd, active, and decisive, but volatile and fiery; he was perfectly master of that species of eloquence which captivates the multitude; but his disposition was stern and unsatisfied with half-measures. He proclaimed every where liberty and hatred to tyranny, condemning, at the same time, wherever he found them, those who were opposed to the new order of things. Don Francisco de Paulo Saens, governor of Potosi, who had acquired universal respect during a long residence in South America, together with the president of Charcas, General Nieto (an old officer, who had fought against the French at Rio Seco in 1808), and a naval officer (the son of Admiral Cordova), were shot in the square at Potosi. These appear to have been acts of unjustifiable cruelty. Castelli alleged that it was necessary to compromise the patriots, and to discourage that sort of neutrality which until then was observed by the bulk of the people, who did not clearly understand the nature of the dispute or the object in view. The execution of men of high rank and influence struck terror into all. Those in office fancied that in Castelli they saw a second Robespierre, about to immolate as many of them as he thought fit on the shrine of liberty. Castelli was in fact a terrorist, deeply imbued with the maxims of the French revolution, and perfectly familiar with its details.

His violent proceedings produced the effect he in-

tended. The feeble Spaniards, neglectful of their means of defence, abandoned the strongest positions, and were scattered in every rencontre. The retreat of timorous generals, at the head of an insubordinate soldiery, was impeded by their riches. The civil government of the provinces, unable to leave the beaten tracks of slow routine, dissolved on the approach of the patriots without an effort. The small division which left the bank of the river Plata celebrated the first anniversary of the revolution amidst the ruins of the palace of the incas at Tiaguanaco, on lake Titicaca, the north-west boundary of the vice-royalty, six hundred and ninety leagues from Buenos Ayres.

The *junta gubernativa*, considering all danger removed on the side of Peru, directed its attention to enforce the submission of Paraguay. About two thousand men were raised and equipped at a great expense, and Don Manuel Belgrano was made a general, in order to be appointed to the command. He marched with little interruption to the confines of Paraguay, where he again required the submission of the *junta* to that of Buenos Ayres. No answer was given, and Belgrano continued to advance unopposed into the heart of the province. Arriving within a day's march of Asumpcion, he halted in the pleasing expectation of making his entry into that capital on the following morning. But, as night closed in, numerous fires were seen to blaze around, and excited considerable alarm. Those appearances were the more extraordinary, because in his advance no hostile preparation had been seen or suspected. In-

deed an inhabitant had rarely been met with. When daylight broke upon Belgrano, he perceived his army encircled by countless hordes of armed Paraguayans, evidently resolved to make a determined resistance to the further progress of the invaders, who, upon comparing numbers, anticipated no other result than annihilation. But Belgrano was agreeably surprised by a flag of truce from Yedros, the general of the Paraguayans, who signified that, although the Buenos Ayreans were completely in his power, the government of his province felt no disposition to treat them as enemies; on the contrary, they considered Buenos Ayreans as brethren engaged in the same cause; and that General Belgrano, having satisfied himself that the Paraguayans possessed the power and inclination to maintain themselves independent of Buenos Ayres, as well as of the regency of Cadiz, was at liberty to retire unmolested, and that refreshments and supplies of every kind should be furnished to facilitate the return. Belgrano, seeing the utter impossibility of accomplishing the object of the expedition, gladly accepted the offered terms, and countermarched to Buenos Ayres. Dr. Francia, who has since become celebrated as the dictator of Paraguay, was at this time secretary to the provincial government, and is supposed to have been the author of the lesson which Buenos Ayres will not easily forget, although very anxious to have it forgotten.

Alarmed at the progress of the Buenos Ayreans on the Desaguadero, Abascal, viceroy of Peru, made overtures to Castelli, the representative of those whom

his excellency had been pleased to designate as "men born to vegetate in obscurity and submission." Castelli received the proposal for an armistice with disdainful levity. His answer was, that he knew of no other authority than the sovereign people, of which the viceroy was an oppressor. This arrogant reply cost the patriots dearly. The viceroy assembled fresh troops under active generals, whilst Castelli gave himself up to dissolute pleasures. The civil administration of the provinces was neglected, whilst the military chiefs showed an equal disregard of their duties.

General Goyeneche, a native of Arequipa, who had been placed at the head of the royalist forces, drew in the mean time four thousand men from Cuzco and Arequipa, and placed himself on the northern side of the Desaguadero, within two days' march of the Buenos Ayreans. The patriots had at length been induced to listen to a suspension of hostilities, and an armistice had been adjusted; but Goyeneche, professing that the most solemn engagements, when made with insurgents, might be broken with impunity, attacked and defeated Castelli * Balcarce at Huaqui, on the 20th of June, 1811, six days previous to the time agreed upon for the renewal of hostilities.

The royalists attempted to justify this breach of faith by asserting that Balcarce had, during the armistice, moved forward from La Paz to the Desa-

* After the expulsion of the patriots from Upper Peru, Castelli was recalled, and placed under arrest at Buenos Ayres. Anxiety of mind acting upon a broken constitution, the effect of his own irregularities, conducted him to the grave in 1812.

guadero. This was the case; but, by so-doing, he did not quit the boundaries conceded to him by the armistice. But Goyeneche had neither delicacy of feeling nor scruples of conscience. He had been brought up to the law, and was, besides, a doctor of theology. When the French entered Spain, he became their partizan, and received instructions from the Grand Duke de Berg, in Madrid, to proceed to South America, to promote the interest of King Joseph. But, upon passing through Seville, Goyeneche changed his policy, and declared in favour of the central junta. He was raised, in one promotion, from a captain of militia, to the rank of brigadier-general. He embarked with two sets of instructions, namely, those of the Grand Duke de Berg, and those of the central junta. The intrigues and the cringing baseness of this renegade are well known at Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, whence he proceeded to Peru. The servile pliability of Goyeneche, accompanied with great fluency of speech, and a prepossessing address, obtained his appointment to the command.

Balcarce, with a remnant of his force, sought safety in Jujuy, two hundred and thirty-six leagues to the southward of Huaqui. Notwithstanding Balcarce's retreat from Upper Peru, Goyeneche, in his advance, met with great opposition from the patriotic natives of Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Chayanta. The cruelties committed under the sanction of Goyeneche are almost incredible, and entitle him not only to the appellation of a denaturalized American, but displayed the peculiar traits of his own cringing and artful character. The cities of Chu-

quisaca, La Paz, and many others, will record his infamy. He is now excessively rich, and has been created Count of Huaqui.

On the 23d of September, 1811, the *junta gubernativa* at Buenos Ayres was dissolved, and Saavedra, the ex-president, compelled to fly; an executive, composed of Don Manuel Sarratea*, of Señor Chiclana, and Dr. Dn. Juan José Passo, were named.

Saavedra is a native of Buenos Ayres, and of a respectable family. Previously to the revolution he had been elected *alcalde ordinario* for a year; a sign that he had the reputation of integrity, and was esteemed by his fellow-citizens. On the expulsion of Whitelock, the command of a militia corps, which had distinguished itself, was conferred upon Saavedra. This gave him additional importance; and he acted a conspicuous part in suppressing a plot formed by Alzaga, a Spanish merchant, to overthrow the viceroy Liniers, principally because Liniers was a Frenchman. Grown dizzy by his elevation to the presidency, Saavedra wished to exercise a preponderating influence in the *junta*, but failing in his object, for want of adequate capacity, he intrigued with the deputies from the provinces to exclude the secretary, Dr. Moreno, whose talents and patriotism were insurmountable barriers to the supposed intentions of Saavedra to tread in the footsteps of the viceroy. Moreno contended, that the president was, as to power, only on an equality with the other members of the junta; but Saavedra succeeded in the end in

* This enlightened individual was the envoy from the Argentine republic to the court of London in 1826.

separating Moreno from the executive, and incorporating the provincial deputies with the junta. Saavedra was not long before he abused the ascendancy thus acquired. The first proscriptions of deserving citizens rendered him odious and caused his downfall.

Saavedra has not since emerged from private life. His administration of the public revenue was unstained by rapacity, and he is now considered an honourable citizen, and a respectable father of a family.

Buenos Ayres had been more successful in her attempt on the Banda Oriental, which is the province, bounded on the east by the Brasilian province of Rio Grande, on the south by the river Plata, and on the west and north by the river Uruguay: Monte Video is the capital. The brilliant little affair of Las Piedras took place in 1811, when nearly a thousand soldiers and sailors sallied from the fortress against a party of two hundred *gauchos*, or mounted peasantry, armed principally with cutlases and boarding pikes, and under the orders of Artigas, who had continued a steady adherent to the Spanish cause until a short time before the action, when he passed over to the patriots, in consequence of a dispute with the governor of Monte Video. The royalists were driven back into the town with much loss.

On the 31st December, 1812, General Rondeau, at the head of one thousand five hundred newly raised troops, repulsed two thousand Spaniards, who made a second sortie. This affair took place at El Cerrito, about a league from the fortress, to the very walls of which the royalists were pursued with great slaughter.

Artigas continued to perform prodigies of valour at the head of his brave *gauchos*, but he had long before displayed symptoms of insubordination, and about this period he withdrew from the command of Rondeau, and, in acting independently, ever after evinced great dislike to the natives of Buenos Ayres.

Balcarce was ordered to Buenos Ayres, and the remnant of his troops, which had escaped from Huaqui, were compelled to retire from Jujuy to Tucuman, one hundred and five leagues farther. After one or two intervening appointments, General Belgrano succeeded to the command; and he had the talent and good fortune, on the 24th September, 1812, to defeat the royalists, three thousand strong, at Tucuman, under General Don Pio Tristan, who had advanced from Potosi, with the intention of penetrating to the city of Buenos Ayres itself. In this affair, Belgrano had only eight hundred soldiers, and some guerrillas of ill-armed *gauchos*. These successful actions gave spirit and confidence, and the patriots became emboldened in proportion as the royalists were disheartened.

In October, 1812, another change was effected in the government of Buenos Ayres, by military commotion. An executive, styled *el gobierno superior*, was established. It was composed of the Señores Peña, Passo, and Jonte, who were to call together an assembly, representing the people of the viceroyalty. On the 30th of January, 1813, a sovereign constituent assembly was convened at Buenos Ayres. It was not until now that the Spanish flag and cockade were abolished, and replaced by the bicolor (blue and white).

The coinage also now bore republican arms. The assembly re-elected the members of the *gobierno superior*, with the exception of Passo, who was replaced by Perez. Don Carlos Alvear was chosen president of the assembly.

In the month of January, 1813, the royalists, still in possession of Monte Video, sent three hundred of the garrison, in some small vessels of war, to make an incursion into the provinces of the river Plata. They disembarked at San Lorenzo, on the right bank of the river Parana, when Colonel Don José de San Martin, with a hundred and fifty *granaderos à cavallo*, attacked and completely defeated them on the 5th February before they had time to form.

Colonel San Martin was wounded in this affair. He is the same officer who (as General San Martin) was afterwards the directing genius of the emancipation of Chile, and who subsequently undertook the bold measure of liberating Peru. He quitted the Spanish service in 1811, and arrived from Cadiz, by the way of England, at Buenos Ayres, in 1812. He was the first who raised and organised, conformably to the European system, a regiment of cavalry. It was called the *granaderos à cavallo*, and was composed of four squadrons. Until this period the importance of disciplined and regular cavalry, and the mode of employing it, was almost unknown in the provinces of the river Plata. The action of San Lorenzo manifested the advantages of the sword over the carbine or pistol.

After the victory of Tucuman, General Belgrano

increased his numbers to about two thousand troops, and obtained on the 20th February, 1813, another signal victory over Tristan, who, with two thousand men, had taken refuge in the town of Salta, eighty-seven leagues to the north of Tucuman, around which they had thrown up some hasty breast-works, and in the defence of which the Spanish part of the inhabitants assisted the royalist troops with great resolution.

Belgrano gallantly attacked the royalists in their parapeted hold. They lost five hundred in killed, and the patriots three hundred. The surviving royalists were all made prisoners.

The brilliant success of Tucuman and Salta were highly creditable to the patriots, and reflected honour upon the bravery of the undisciplined supporters of the infant republic. But Belgrano marred his prospects by his confiding magnanimity in General Tristan, whom he had generously permitted to return to Peru, together with his officers and men, upon their engaging, with the usual solemnities, not to bear arms against the republic. Forgetful of his honour, General Tristan violated his parole. The archbishop of Charcas profaned the altar of God by pretending to absolve, with the ceremonies of the Roman catholic church, Tristan and his soldiers from the performance of a sacred pledge. The soldiers followed the example of their more guilty chief, and incorporated themselves with the royalist army of General Pezuela (afterwards viceroy of Peru), who, having by these dishonourable means augmented his force to four

thousand men, attacked and defeated Belgrano, who commanded about the same number, at Vilcapugio, between Potosi and Oruro, on the 1st October, 1813, and again at Ayoma, in the department of Cochabamba, on the 14th November following. The unfortunate general escaped with a remnant of his force to Tucuman.

The guerrilla leaders, Warnes, Camargo, and Padilla, remained in the mountains of Upper Peru, and obtained many advantages in rencontres with royalist detachments.

The inhabitants of Cochabamba, and of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and the Indians of Chayanta and of Yamparez, lost no opportunity of manifesting their determined hostility to the Spaniards.

On the 31st December, 1813, the *gobierno superior* at Buenos Ayres was abolished, and Señor Posadas was elected supreme director, with a council of seven individuals to assist him.

General San Martin was appointed to the command of the remains of the army of Belgrano. San Martin found only five hundred and seventy-seven rank and file at Tucuman. In March, 1814, he mustered nearly four thousand men of all arms, and a train of fourteen pieces of artillery. He constructed barracks a mile distant from the town of Tucuman, and surrounded them with a ditch and a parapet, in order to serve not only as a *point d'appui*, but also to guard against desertion of the *gaucho* soldiery, who, brought up in notions of individual independence, were so predisposed to disunion, and averse to re-

straint, that it was no easy matter to establish discipline so incompatible with their roving mode of life.

On the 25th May, 1814, Colonel Arenales obtained some advantage over the royalists in the provinces of Cochabamba. Warnes was equally successful in the *Quebrada* of Santa Barbara on the 9th October of the same year.

The *gauchos* of Salta, headed by the brave Guemes, cut off supplies of the royalists in their front. Warnes, Padilla, Muñecas, and other leaders * distressed the royalist rear, and altogether ultimately obliged Pezuela to fall back upon Cotagaita.

In May, 1814, San Martin was obliged to remove to the Cordovese mountains on account of ill health. This was unfortunate, as it put an end to a correspondence with Colonel Castro, who commanded the royalist vanguard at Salta, and was afterwards executed by order of General Pezuela, in consequence of its having been discovered that he was about to excite revolt amongst the royalist troops.

On San Martin's recovery he was appointed to the command of the province of Cuyo, which became an extremely interesting point. The invasion of Chile by sea from Peru, by the Spanish General Osorio, was then threatened, from which the most fatal effects to the cause of independence were apprehended, and these fears were but too soon realized by the re-establishment of the Spanish dominion throughout Chile about the end of October, 1814.

General Rondeau was succeeded by Colonel Alvear

* Warnes, Padilla, Muñecas, and Guemes, were successively slain in guerilla warfare.

in the command of the patriot force which threatened Monte Video in 1814, the year in which the capture took place (20th June), and which was rendered less difficult by Captain Brown of the Buenos Ayrean flotilla having gallantly attacked and destroyed, on the 17th of May, the Spanish naval forces in the harbour, which were very superior in point of numbers to those under his own command. Five thousand five hundred royalist troops, forming the garrison of Monte Video, capitulated to Colonel Alvear. Eleven thousand muskets, a complete depôt of ammunition and arms, and magazines of other military stores, were delivered up to the patriots. Artigas, as chief of the Banda Oriental, the title he now assumed, although a staunch patriot, was in open hostilities with Alvear. He demanded possession of Monte Video, which was refused. The Buenos Ayrean General Soler was appointed governor of the captured town, against whom Artigas carried on an active war, until he obliged the new governor to evacuate the place, of which Artigas immediately took possession.

The extreme folly, to say the least, of Posadas, and of a subsequent government, in proclaiming Artigas a deserter, and setting a price upon his head, excited feelings of irreconcileable hatred; and from this epoch all attempts made by the Buenos Ayreans to reduce Artigas to submission were vain.

General Rondeau, who had succeeded San Martin in the command of the patriot army at Tucuman, made an irruption into Upper Peru at the head of three thousand five hundred men, but was totally defeated by General Pezuela, with equal numbers, on

the 28th of November, 1815, at Sipe-Sipe (between Potosi and Oruro), and at Viluma; and Upper Peru reverted to the Spaniards.

Posadas having resigned the supreme directorship, (1815), General Alvear was elected in his stead, but soon obliged to resign and fly the country. He was succeeded by Rondeau on the 16th of April, 1816, and a *junta of observation* was substituted in the place of the sovereign constituent assembly. The first object of the junta of observation and of the new director was to establish a national congress, fairly representing the whole body of the people, and, in order to do away with provincial jealousies against Buenos Ayres, it was ordered to assemble at Tucuman. Accordingly the constituent assembly was regularly installed in the city of Tucuman in the month of March, 1816. On the 9th of July it declared the independence of the provinces of the river Plata. (See Appendix, C.) General Puyrredon was on the same day named supreme director of the republic. He had distinguished himself in the defence of Buenos Ayres against the British, and served in Upper Peru against the royalists. Congress was afterwards removed to Buenos Ayres. In the same year General Belgrano was re-appointed to the command of the remnant of the army which had escaped from Sipe-Sipe and Viluma. He displayed great activity in reorganising and augmenting that force.

Several attempts had been made by the house of Braganza to encroach upon the territories of its Argentine neighbours, but they were frustrated. The dissensions between Artigas and Buenos Ayres ap-

peared to remove every obstacle to the success of an invading force. To place the Brazilian frontier beyond the reach of anarchical contagion was the pretext of the court of Rio Janeiro to take possession of the Banda Oriental, because it was pretended that, in becoming independent of Spain, the province had been the prey of misrule and every species of disorder. About 8000 Portuguese and Brazilian troops, under General Lecor, advanced in three divisions: one by the way of Santa Teresa; the second by the way of Cerro Azul; the third proceeded towards the river Uruguay. After suffering much in repeated skirmishings with the brave *gauchos*, General Lecor entered Monte Video on the 19th of January, 1817. Abandoned by Buenos Ayres, the Orientals made a heroic desultory defence. National hatred became more deeply rancorous, and the Portuguese soon found themselves reduced to the fortress occupied by their garrison, and to such parts of the country as were within musket-shot of their encampments.

The Buenos Ayreans, not satisfied with remaining passive spectators of the contest between the Brazilians and Artigas, sent two expeditions against the latter, and which Artigas defeated or destroyed *.

Within a year after resuming the command, Belgrano had upwards of 4000 excellently well-equipped troops at Tucuman; but unfortunately the spirit of anarchy extended to the principal officers, who deposed their general, and spread themselves over the provinces, each with as many soldiers as he

* Artigas continued hostile to Buenos Ayres and Brazil several years longer, but having afterwards sustained some reverses in the province of Entre-Rios, he sought an asylum in Paraguay. He was placed under rigid surveillance by Dr. Francia. Artigas died in the sixtieth year of his age at Candalaria, in 1826.

could draw over. By such means they usurped the civil and military administration of the provinces, which some have retained to this time. Thus Belgrano saw his troops dispersed and himself made prisoner, instead of leading on those troops against the Spaniards in Upper Peru, agreeably to the combinations of General San Martin.

Don Manuel Belgrano was born in Buenos Ayres, of Italian parents, who acquired and bequeathed to their children a considerable property. Don Manuel was educated at the university of Salamanca. On his return from Spain, he was appointed secretary to the *consulado*, or chamber of commerce, a situation, which brought him in contact with the commercial men, the most important class at that time in Buenos Ayres. The mildness of Belgrano's manners, heightened by something of the Italian polish, his fondness for music, and his taste for the *belles lettres*, rendered him, in early life, a distinguished member of society.

He was one of the Buenos Ayrean literati who wrote in periodical works, subject to a censorship, the object of which was to prepare the way to independence, by calling forth a proper spirit in the minds of the Argentine * youth. The only printing press in Buenos Ayres was an indifferent one, formerly belonging to the jesuits of Cordova, sold in 1809 by auction, and bought by a patriotic club formed by Moreno, and of which Belgrano was a member.

Belgrano was at one time a partizan of the Princess Carlota of Portugal; but, dubious of the policy of supporting the pretensions of the sister of Ferdinand,

* The Buenos Ayreans call themselves Argentinos.

he altered his plan, and dedicated his efforts to bring about the independence of his country, with a degree of disinterestedness seldom equalled. His relative Castelli, his friend Vietes, and Don Julian Espinosa, who were friendly to the claims of the Bourbon princess, also veered about. Belgrano displayed considerable ardour, but not much military capacity. He was deficient in coolness, and he had not the robustness of frame to undergo the fatigue of a harassing campaign. Nevertheless he applied himself closely to the study of tactics, and established strict discipline. He was temperate at table and indefatigable in his duties; but he had neither the experience nor all the military tact necessary to success in a general officer. He gave to his country two days of glory in the actions of Tucuman and Salta, and many days of mourning for those of Vilcapugio and Ayoma.

His popularity did not shield him from persecution, which was sometimes carried to an unjust extreme. But his mind was never depressed. He continued to labour for the welfare of his country with unwearied zeal, being persuaded that unless the people were enlightened by a more general diffusion of knowledge liberty would remain an empty sound. Belgrano was one of the most liberal, the most humane, the most honourable, and the most disinterested men that South America has produced. His death, in 1820, was justly deplored by every class.

The civil dissensions which afflicted Buenos Ayres after this period are endless and uninteresting.

The intrigues of France and Austria to impose upon the Buenos Ayreans a Bourbon or an Austrian

prince were defeated by the good sense and patriotism of that people, notwithstanding the anarchy which had reduced them to the brink of destruction.

In Peru, the attention of the viceroy Abascal had been diverted by the simultaneous rising of the Indians in the provinces of Cuzco, Huamanga, and Arequipa. As the declared object of their leader, Pumacagua, was to establish the independence of the whole country, many Creoles flocked to his standard; but the activity of General Ramires soon crushed the efforts of these unarmed multitudes. Amongst the patriots who suffered death was Melgar, a youth of twenty, and a native of Arequipa. He was the Moore of Peru, and composed some *Yaravi* melodies which the author of Lallah Rookh might have been proud of.

The severity of the numerous punishments * which followed produced a calm which lasted until the arrival of General San Martin at Pisco, in 1820.

Abascal was superseded in the viceroyalty of Peru by General Pezuela, who made his public entry into Lima on the 7th of July, 1816. The king of Spain, at the same time, appointed General La Serna to relieve Pezuela in the command of the army of Upper Peru. La Serna arrived from Spain in the Venganza, at Arica, on the 7th of September, 1816. Two thousand Spanish troops arrived also about the same time, by the way of Panama, or round Cape Horn.

La Serna, and many other officers who had also served in the peninsular war, affected a superiority over those who had been many years in Peru, and spoke with contempt of every other system of warfare

* Pumacagua was one of those who suffered death.

than that which had been so successfully practised in the mother country. La Serna introduced so many innovations * quite inapplicable to Peru, and his correspondence with the viceroy betrayed such an anxiety to show his attainments as a tactician, that Pezuela, as well as the generality of old officers, were disgusted with the pedantry of pretensions which soon became ridiculous by total failure and retreat before a few irregularly-armed *Gauchos*.

La Serna seems to have formed his opinion of the practicability of marching over land to Buenos Ayres by studying the map; for, in a letter dated Arica, 12th of September, 1816, he gravely tells the viceroy he purposes to take Buenos Ayres in the month of May in the following year; but wisely adds, "if topographical and political difficulties do not prevent it."

General La Serna, with four or five thousand men, penetrated as far as Salta, but deemed it prudent to fall back upon Jujuy, fourteen leagues to the northward on the Potosi road. Jujuy is a straggling place, about half a league in extent, and contained at that time a population of about three thousand souls. The town is beautifully situated on the bank of a river, which flows through a finely-wooded valley. The ridges on each side recede from each other until they merge in the Pampas. It is at the debouchement of the valley of Jujuy that the town is situated, and is the first on the Pampas which meets the traveller on his way southward from Potosi.

* One, however, must be recorded to his honour. He issued an order that thereceforwards no officer should inflict the punishment of death on account of political opinions, without obtaining his previous sanction.

La Serna could penetrate no farther. The Spaniards occupied no more of the country than the ground they stood upon; or, at any rate, none beyond the range of their musketry. They were hemmed in by about as many hundred *Gauchos*, as La Serna counted thousands of regular troops. Some of the *Gauchos* were armed with muskets, others with swords, carbines, or pistols; but many were only provided with a long knife, *bolas*, and the *lasso*.

A small round hat, a shirt, a poncho, breeches open at the knees, and boots made of raw hide, were the only articles of dress commonly worn. The *Gauchos* concealed themselves in the depth of forests in the day-time, and often made an attack in the night upon the royalist quarters, or outposts. The *Gauchos* outside were in constant communication with the inhabitants; many of the latter would join in nocturnal surprises, and be found at home by daylight next morning. It was useless for La Serna to send out strong piquets. The royalists lost so many men in this way, without ever gaining a single advantage, that they were obliged to give over every attempt to move beyond the outskirts of the suburbs in pursuit.

The manner in which the *Gaüchos* carried on their operations was as follows: They kept men constantly on the highest trees, to watch every movement of the royalists, or to receive communications from friends in the town. Royalist stragglers to a small distance were invariably cut off. On some trees bells were hung; and, tolling them, the *Gauchos* would call out to the Spaniards, "Come, Gothis, and hear mass."

From other trees, drums were suspended, and the call to arms beaten ever and anon; whilst in others, men would be sounding bugles day and night, at intervals. If the royalists approached, the *Gaucho* on the look-out would glide from the branches like a squirrel, vault into the saddle, and, watching a favourable opportunity, level his musket or pistol, fire, and probably bring down a royalist, before he galloped off and dived into the recesses of the forest. All this served to intimidate and harass the Spaniards to an amazing degree. Numerous desertions took place; supplies were cut off; and even fuel became so scarce, that the rafters and other wood-work of untenanted houses were made use of for that purpose.

La Serna himself was driven to desperation. Foiled at the very entrance of the Pampas, by a handful of undisciplined but well-mounted *Gauchos*, he had the additional mortification of finding all his vaunted plans of conducting the war "en regle" inapplicable to the country in which, with so much pompous parade, he had endeavoured to introduce them. He was finally compelled to abandon Jujuy and retire to Cotagaita in order to avoid starvation.

CHAPTER IV.

Army of the Andes.—Royalist Forces in Chile.—Palaver with the Pehuenche Indians.—Ninconyancu.—Father Julian.—Mellyegan.—Savage Life.—Passage of the Andes.

It has already been stated, that General San Martin had been appointed governor of Cuyo, where he laboured incessantly to raise an army. This force, which assumed the denomination of the army of the Andes, had for its nucleus a detachment of one hundred and eighty recruits of the Buenos Ayrean battalion No. 8., which followed General San Martin to Mendoza, soon after his appointment to the governorship in the month of September, 1814. The slender resources of the provincial government, and the thinly-sprinkled population of fifty thousand souls over a vast extent of pampa, prevented the governor forming an army strong enough to threaten Chile in a shorter space of time than two years. Its organization reflects the highest credit upon the tact, talent, and industry of San Martin. The discipline which he established showed, that the experience he acquired in the peninsular war had given system and efficacy to those natural qualifications which fitted him so well for the task. His popularity is evident from the alacrity with which his exertions were seconded by the inhabitants of the province, whose patriotism and

cheerful submission to great sacrifices were beyond praise. The confidence of British merchants at Buenos Ayres was also conspicuous in the readiness with which they gave credit to the government for supplies intended for San Martin. He was beloved by the provincials, and he enjoyed the confidence of his officers and men to a degree never given to any preceding commander in that part of the world.

General San Martin having received from Buenos Ayres a reinforcement of four hundred and fifty men of the battalion, No. 7. and two hundred of the regiment of *granaderos à cavallo*, was enabled, in the middle of the year 1816, to form at Mendoza about four thousand regular troops, tolerably well clothed and armed, besides a considerable number of unarmed militia. According to the original official returns for December, 1816, still in possession of a patriot general, the royalist force in Chile under the president, Captain-General Marco, consisted of seven thousand six hundred and thirteen regulars and eight hundred militia. The latter were armed and paid, which was not uniformly the case. Notwithstanding the disparity of forces, San Martin determined upon making the attempt to liberate Chile, and he was the more anxious to commence at once offensive operations, as some symptoms of party spirit had been shown by two or three chiefs of the army.

The patriot general hoped to be enabled by *ruse de guerre* to cause Marco to divide his forces. For this purpose, when every preparation to march was nearly completed, General San Martin caused a conference to be held with the Indians of Pehuenche, for

the ostensible object of soliciting leave to march unmolested through their territories, for the purpose of attacking the Spaniards from the pass of *El Planchon*. On the day before that fixed upon for an interview with the Indians, General San Martin caused to be sent to the fort of San Carlos, on the river Diamante, one hundred and twenty goat-skins of aguardiente or grape brandy, three hundred skins of wine, a great number of bridles, spurs, all the old embroidered or laced dresses, that could with great diligence be collected in the province, hats, handkerchiefs of an ordinary kind, glass beads, dried fruits, &c. &c. &c. for presents; an indispensable preliminary to success in any Indian negotiation.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the —— of September, 1816, the *caciques* approached the esplanade in front of the fort, with all the pomp of savage life, each at the head of his warriors; their wives and children bringing up the rear. Polygamy being practised, the wives were very numerous. The men wore their hair unconfined and long; their bodies, naked from the waist upwards, were painted with different colours. Their horses were also stained precisely in the same manner as when they go to war. In fact, it was the fighting costume of man and horse. Each *cacique* was preceded by a small party of patriot cavalry, sent by the general for the purpose of keeping up an irregular fire of blank cartridges from their pistols as the tribe advanced. This mode of ushering the Indians to the presence of Christians is a compliment with which they never dispense. As the tribes arrived on the esplanade, the

women and children filed off, and took their station on one side, without dismounting. When all the tribes had arrived, the warriors of one tribe commenced a sham fight, during which they kept the horses at full speed, or made them turn on their hind legs, curvet, and caper, and prance about in the most extraordinary manner. During the exhibition, a gun was fired every six minutes from the fort. The Indians answered the salute by slapping their mouths, and making the most frightful noises, in token of satisfaction. This sort of tournament lasted about a quarter of an hour for one tribe, which retired towards the spot occupied by the women, and remained on horseback, spectators of the performance of the other tribes, which exhibited in turn. These martial exercises lasted till noon, and General San Martin's escort of a troop of cavalry and two hundred militia remained formed on the parade during the whole time.

The prelude to business being over, the palaver commenced in the place d'armes, where the governor of the fort had provided a table covered with the cloth of the chapel pulpit, and benches for the *caciques* and *war-captains*, who were the only persons admitted to conference with the general. The Indians outside remained formed and mounted, keeping themselves on the alert, until the result should be made known.

Upon arriving at the place d'armes, the chiefs took their seats according to seniority; the *caciques* first, and then the *war-captains*. General San Martin, the governor of the fort, and the interpreter, placed

themselves on a bench at the head of the table. The general, as a matter of courtesy, proposed a friendly glass previous to proceeding to business; but all declined, assigning as a reason, that if they drank, their heads could not be firm to give proper consideration to the matter they had assembled to discuss. The interpreter, father Julian, a Franciscan friar, an Araucanian by birth, and brought up by a Creole family from the age of ten, then commenced an harangue. He reminded them of the good understanding which had subsisted between Pehuenche Indians and the general in chief, who relied with confidence upon a continuation of the harmony so happily established, and who had convened them in solemn palaver to compliment them with drink-offerings and gifts, and to request that the patriot army might be permitted to pass through the Pehuenche territory, in order to attack the Spaniards, who were strangers in the land, and whose views and intentions were to dispossess them of their pastures, rob them of their cattle, and carry off their wives and children, &c. &c.

A dead silence followed: those painted savages, wrapped up in profound meditation for a quarter of an hour, presented a picture truly striking. At length the senior *cacique*, named Ninconyancu, broke silence. He was nearly eighty years of age, his hair was snow-white, and his appearance venerable in the extreme. Directing his discourse to his brother chiefs, he calmly asked if they were of opinion that the proposals just made by the Christians ought or ought not to be accepted. The debate which fol-

lowed was carried on in a manner exceedingly interesting. Each chief in his proper turn declared his sentiments with the utmost tranquillity, and without the slightest interruption or sign of impatience from the rest. Having agreed upon the answer proper to be given, Ninconyancu addressed himself to the general, and informed him that the Pehuenches, with the exception of three caciques, whom the rest knew how to restrain, accepted his proposals. All then rose from their seats, except the three caciques, who did not concur in opinion with the majority, and, in testimony of their sincerity, embraced the general. Without losing a moment of time, the cacique Mellyegan stepped out, and communicated to the Indians on the esplanade, that the proposals of the Christians were such as could be accepted. They instantly unsaddled, and delivered their horses to the militia to turn them out to feed. They next proceeded to deposit their lances, hatchets, and knives (the arms of the Pehuenches), in a barrack-room, not to be returned till after the conclusion of the revels which invariably follow a palaver.

The voluntary surrender of their arms into the hands of their natural enemies is an extraordinary trait in the Indian character. The motive is to avoid bloodshed amongst themselves during the dreadful intoxication which forms an essential part of the ceremony of every palaver. The blind confidence with which they disarm themselves shows the elevated notions they entertain of the sacred rites of hospitality, and a consciousness of the necessity of rendering themselves comparatively harmless during the maddening

influence of excessive drinking. The solicitude of the women to remove weapons at such times is highly interesting.

Having lodged their arms in the fort, they proceeded to the corral, or cattle-pen, where some mares had been shut up for slaughter. They trip up the animal by means of the *lasso;* tie its feet together, as butchers in England do those of sheep; and then open a vein in the neck, whence they sometimes suck the blood, in which operation the women and children take precedence. The carcass is cut up and roasted, which is done very quickly. The skins are carefully preserved, and formed into reservoirs in the following manner. An excavation, two feet deep and four or five in circumference, is made in the ground; the fresh skin is then placed, with the hair undermost, in the concavity, and fastened round the brim by wooden pegs. Into this skin-lined cistern, wine and brandy are indiscriminately poured. Sixteen or eighteen men squat themselves around these wells, the number of which are of course in proportion to the number of people. The women did not commence *their* carousings, which were held apart, until sunset, when they seated themselves around similar reservoirs filled with the same mixture. From motives of delicacy, which cannot but be admired, four or five females of each tribe abstained from drink altogether, in order to take care of their companions when reason had taken its flight.

The scene which next presented itself was singularly novel. Two thousand persons (reckoning women and children, and servants or attendants) were

seated in circles upon the esplanade. One of the first subjects of conversation was their own feats, or the deeds of their ancestors. Some were affected to weeping in relating family history. As soon as the liquor exercised its influence all talked together, and shouted and yelled with deafening din. Quarrels ensued, as a matter of course, and many fought, when, in the absence of weapons, they bit and kicked each other, and tore out hair by handfuls. The uproar amongst the men, the vociferation, the laughing, and the shrieks of the women, and the squalling of infant children, formed altogether a combination of discords that must be left for the imagination to conceive. Small parties of the patriot militia, placed on duty for that purpose, were kept in full employ in separating combatants. Towards midnight the revels subsided into the silence of the grave. Men and women were stretched upon the ground as if in a lethargy or in the arms of death, except a very few who still retained the power to crawl or roll a few paces; but the greater part were perfectly motionless. The horrid carousal was kept up in the same style for three successive days, that is, until the last drop of liquor was exhausted. In consequence of the precautions of General San Martin, the casualties were unusually few. Only two men and one woman were killed in the course of the *entertainment*; a very trifling loss of life, when it is considered that for such occasions it is the custom to treasure up the memory of old quarrels, and endeavour to take ample vengeance. In negotiations with Indians it is impossible to avoid contributing to excesses, because a stinted supply of

liquor is construed into an insult never to be forgiven.

A day was set apart for the exchange of gifts. Each cacique presented the general with a *poncho*, the manufacture of his wives. The poncho is an upper garment in universal use amongst the men of all ranks throughout South America. It is an oblong piece of woollen or cotton; a sort of scarf with a slit in the centre, through which the head passes, and the drapery falls from the shoulders behind and before near to the ankle, and on each side to the elbow, leaving the arms in perfect liberty. A short poncho which reaches below the waist is equally common, and is usually worn in-doors. Some of the *ponchos* accepted by the general were not destitute of merit, particularly in the liveliness of the pattern, and the permanence of the colours. What the Indians appeared to prize most highly of the gifts they received were the hats and the embroidered or lace dresses, which were put on and worn the instant these articles came into their possession.

The distribution was made on the fourth day, and rendered it the most fatiguing of the whole period. Those who know the unscrupulous and harassing importunity of the Indian character can alone form an idea of the manner in which the general was besieged without the respite of a moment. On the sixth day, San Martin received despatches from General Puyrredon, who was marching from Salta to Cordova, where San Martin proceeded to meet him.

O'Brien and Arrellano, aides-de-camp to San Mar-

tin, were left behind to do the honours of the palaver. The Pehuenches remained at San Carlos eight days longer, on account of some dealers having appeared from Mendoza with spirits, and which they bartered away for most of the presents which the Indians had received from San Martin. The Pehuenches departed at the end of a fortnight, so highly gratified by the entertainment, that they declared that such a splendid palaver was not known in the annals of tradition.

A circumstance occurred which proved the reality of a custom of bathing immediately after child-birth, which had been spoken of, but doubted. The accouchement of an Indian woman took place two days after her arrival. Accompanied by two women of her tribe, she immediately took a bath in the river, and, with her new-born son, remained in the water for a considerable time. A few days after her delivery she set out with the party upon their return to their own country, in the full enjoyment of health and strength. The zealous friar, Father Julian, did not lose the opportunity of rescuing, by a pious stratagem, the soul of the babe from the "talons of Satan." Under pretence of exhibiting the child to his companions, he baptized it in the general's apartment, and prevailed upon his excellency to become godfather.

The Pehuenches are separated from the Araucanians by the cordillera of the Andes. The men are of lofty stature, of muscular frame, and have a lively expressive countenance. Their population is estimated at from twelve to fourteen thousand, which is far below what it used to be before the small-pox and

a more loathsome disease made such dreadful ravages amongst them. They do not appear to have any object of adoration, or to observe any form of worship. They occupy the territory which lies at the foot of the eastern side of the Andes, and extends one hundred and twenty leagues from the right or south bank of the river Diamante, which forms the southern boundary of the province of Cuyo. They are accounted the most courageous people of the pampas, and are often engaged in warfare with the neighbouring Indian nations. They never give quarter excepting to women and children, who are carried into captivity. It is remarkable that whites or Creoles do not always avail themselves of opportunities to return to civilized society. There seem to be pleasures in savage life, which those who have once tasted seldom wish to exchange for the charms of more polished intercourse. For example, a Creole boy was carried off at the age of thirteen; at twenty-six he returned to Buenos Ayres on some speculation of barter. He said, that whoever had lived upon horse-flesh would never eat beef, unless driven by necessity or hunger; he described the flesh of a colt to be the most delicately flavoured of all viands. This man having transacted the business which led him to Buenos Ayres, returned voluntarily to his favourite haunts, and is probably living amongst the Indians to this day.

Hospitality is the virtue in highest repute amongst them, and revenge their cherished and predominating vice. Their indolence is such, that they pass the greater part of their lives stretched out on the ground

drinking a fermented liquor made from wild fruits. Agriculture is not known amongst them; they subsist upon horse flesh and wild fruits *. Their wives, in addition to domestic labours, attend to the horses, take and fetch them to and from pasture, and saddle them for their husbands. Their intervals of leisure are occupied in spinning and weaving ponchos, which their husbands convey to Mendoza, and barter for liquor, dried fruits, &c. They lead a wandering life, and change of abode is regulated by the sufficiency of pasturage for their numerous *cavalladas*, or droves of horses. They are bold and skilful riders, and they move individually or in a body with incredible rapidity. An Indian drives ten or a dozen spare horses before him, and changes on the road as occasion may require: the horses are so docile and so well trained, that oftentimes, when called by name, a horse will come from the pasture at the sound of his master's voice, and quietly suffer the *lasso* to be thrown over his head.

During the revolution the Pehuenches observed a strict neutrality, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spanish authorities to seduce them to act against the patriots, who, on their part, took care to encourage this pacific conduct by seasonable presents to the most influential of the caciques. It cannot, however, be supposed that they were well inclined towards either party; and, as General San Martin foresaw, they soon sold the secret (that the patriots intended to invade

* The kernel of the araucaria is called pehuen, or peguen, and gives its name to the tribe.

Chile by the southern passes) to General Marco, who instantly divided his forces by transferring the greater part from the north to Talca and San Fernando, in the full conviction that Chile would receive the first blow from one of the southern passes of the Andes. He was strengthened in this opinion by knowing, that these passes are less difficult of access, and that they occasionally furnish pasturage, of which the passes more to the north are totally destitute. To keep up the illusion, General San Martin sent guerillas to make demonstrations towards the south on the eastern side of the Cordillera. The known practicable passes, in a length of a hundred and forty leagues of the ridge of mountains which *wall in* Chile, on the eastern side, are six. Beginning with the northern, they are as follows:

La Rioja, which debouches into the province of Coquimbo; Los Patos, which debouches into the valley of Putuendo; Uspallata into the valley of Aconcagua; El Portillo * into the valley of San Gabriel, near to the capital; Las Damas into the valley of Colchagua; and El Planchon into the valley of Talca.

The obstructions which nature has raised to impede the passage of a numerous body of men over the mighty barrier of the Andes, are not easily conceived but by those who have crossed these stupendous ridges. A novel kind of warfare might be carried on

* Whilst the army of the Andes was at Mendoza, Captain, now Colonel O'Brien was stationed at the Portillo with thirty men: eleven died in consequence of the severity of the weather. The colonel remained there for six months.

by means of a few men, who could be made to defy the utmost efforts of a numerous army. Supported by a few rude field-works, they might prevent the strongest division from advancing; and, taking a circuitous route, might gain the rear, and, by similar works, hem in an invading column amongst horrid defiles and mountainous wildernesses, whence not a man could escape.

At length the patriot army broke up its cantonments, and marched from Mendoza on the 17th January, 1817. As it defiled into the gorges of the Andes, the sedate but warm-hearted Mendozinos took a most affectionate farewell of the departing warriors. It consisted of the following corps:

Battalion No. 7, Lieutenant-Colonel Conde; battalion No. 8, Lieutenant-Colonel Crammer; battalion No. 11, Lieutenant-Colonel Las Heras; *cazadores*, Lieutenant-Colonel Alvarado; regiment of *granaderos à cavallo*, Lieutenant-Colonel Sapiola.

TRANSLATION.

Return, showing the number of men, of horses, and of saddle and baggage mules, which composed the army of the Andes, that marched from Mendoza to Chile in 1817.

	Horses.	Mules. Saddle.	Baggage.
2800 infantry, one mule to each man, and one extra mule to every fifth man,		3360	150
200 chiefs and officers of infantry, three saddle mules for every two officers, one baggage mule for every two officers, two baggage mules for every chief, - -		300	140
900 cavalry and artillery, three saddle mules for every two men, including five baggage mules per company - -		1350	60

36558

	Horses.	Mules. Saddle.	Baggage.
60 chiefs and officers of cavalry and artillery in the same proportion as that allowed to infantry - - -		90	40
Staff - - - - - -		71	46
Hospital and hospital-attendants -		47	75
Company of artificers with their tools		74	30
120 workmen with implements to render the mountain tracts passable -		180	10
1200 militia in charge of spare mules and the transport of artillery - -		1800	
Provisions for fifteen days for five thousand two hundred men - -			510
113 loads of wine, the rations being a bottle per day each man - - -			113
Train conducting a cable bridge, grapples, &c. - - - -			65
Field-train of artillery, one hundred and ten rounds per gun, 500,000 musket-ball-cartridges, 180 loads of spare arms.		87	683
Spare horses for cavalry and artillery - - - - - -	1600		
	1600	7359	1922

This does not include the division of Lieutenant-Colonel Freyre of three hundred and eighty men, or of Lieutenant-Colonel Lemus of one hundred and thirty men, who crossed the Andes by the pass of the Portillo, taking with them ten hundred and twenty mules.

The provisions consisted of jerked beef, highly seasoned with capsicum, &c. &c. toasted Indian corn, biscuit, cheese, and a great quantity of onions and garlic. The latter was indispensable to provide against the *puna* or *soroche*. [Note by the translator. When animals are affected with the *soroche*, their nostrils are rubbed with garlic.]

The most serious difficulties encountered consisted in the time and labour expended in making moun-

tain paths transitable; in the want of fuel; and in the nature of the climate. Out of nine thousand two hundred and eighty-one mules and one thousand six hundred horses, which left Mendoza with the troops, not more than four thousand three hundred mules and five hundred horses arrived in Chile, in spite of every precaution that the keenest ingenuity could devise. Five hundred of the militia were told off to convey two howitzers and ten pieces of artillery, composed of heavy and light four-pounders. Where the ground was comparatively good, each piece of ordnance was carried between two mules, by means of a pole or bar fastened "fore and aft" to a pack saddle on each mule; the gun was suspended from the pole, and hung in an horizontal position, about two feet from the ground, between the tail of the foremost and nose of the hindmost mule. Sometimes it was carried on the shoulders, and sometimes in the arms of the militia-men; at other times dragged up or lowered down declivities by means of ropes. The *cabrestante* (a sort of portable capstan) was also occasionally used to assist in raising the gun, or to steady it in the descent. Seven hundred oxen formed a part of the provision for fifteen days. To provide against starvation, in the event of defeat, provisions were left in depôt at about every twelfth league, in charge of a small militia guard.

Between the town of Mendoza and Chile five principal ridges run north and south, besides innumerable colossal ramifications. The intense cold on the summits killed many men; nearly the whole army was affected in the course of the march with the *puna*, or a difficulty of respiration, and numbers died

in consequence. Every step the patriots took convinced the least reflecting, that the obstacles already overcome were of a nature that left not a ray of hope that a retreat would be practicable, if they were beaten in the field; but, instead of despondency, a spirit of union pervaded all, and they marched full of confidence, each corps emulating the rest in enduring submission to hardships of no common severity. Hence the successful day of Chacabuco, that placed nearly all Chile in the hands of the patriot party. But before entering into the details of that decisive affair, we will give some account of the events which characterized the revolution of Chile.

CHAPTER V.

Chile in 1810.—Figueroa.—Carreras.—Pareja.—Yerbas-Buenas.—Chillan.—Sanchez.—O'Higgins.—Mackenna.—Membrillar.—Gainza.—Talca.—Dissensions.—Breach of faith of the Royalists.—Desperate defence of Rancagua.—Patriots emigrate.—Sambruno.—Osorio.—Exiles of Juan Fernandez.—Rodriguez.—Freyre.—Army of the Andes.—Soler.—Martinez.—Necochea.—Chacabuco.—Supreme Director.—San Martin.—Talcahuano.—Las Heras.—Quintana.—Patriot army.—Commodore Bowles.

CHILE continued tranquil under Spanish misrule until the 18th of July, 1810. On that day, the Captain-General Carrasco was displaced, and the Count de la Conquista appointed in his stead. During the administration of the latter, the plan of the revolution was formed. El Señor Alvarez de Jonte, highly distinguished for talent and patriotism, was powerfully instrumental in bringing about this change, to promote which he was sent expressly from Buenos Ayres by the *junta gubernativa* *.

On the 18th of September, 1810, a junta of government, composed of seven of the most distinguished citizens of the capital, was established in Santiago de Chile. Its authority was instantly acknowledged by the provinces with every demonstration of joy. To

* Alvarez de Jonte resided some time in London. He accompanied Lord Cochrane to Chile, and was employed as secretary in one of the cruises to the coast of Peru. He afterwards sailed from Valparaiso as judge-advocate to the liberating army. He died at Pisco. The government of Peru granted a pension to his children.

the general causes which gave birth to the revolution of Spanish America, may be added some incidental events which distinguished the early efforts for emancipation in Chile from those of every other state.

One of the most striking peculiarities was the perfect unanimity which pervaded all classes. In Chile the highest ranks of society stood foremost in promoting a change. In other states, numbers of the corresponding rank either hesitated, or were so much interested in the preservation of the old régime, that they did not, as a body, join the people until the cause was pretty firmly established, and it became comparatively safe for them to change sides. In Chile, the lower classes retained their habits of passive obedience longest, and *followed* instead of taking the lead; but unanimity was the grand characteristic of the bloodless revolution of 1810.

The sovereignty of Ferdinand VII. was acknowledged by the junta. The coinage continued to bear his effigy, and, notwithstanding a very general desire to declare for independence, the communication with the viceroy of Lima was preserved according to the forms of the old routine.

The tribunal of the *real audiencia* remained in full exercise of its functions; and justice was administered, as before, in the royal name. No Spaniard was removed from the employment, or divested of the dignity, to which he had been previously appointed, or of which he was in the actual enjoyment at the date of the revolution. It is probable that less alarm was felt, on account of the Spaniards being fewer in number, in Chile than in other sections of Spanish

America. The great political change was unstained by crime or severity, and nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity and satisfaction of the people at large, until the 1st of April, 1811, when the capital heard, for the first time, the sound of hostile musketry, and saw the blood of some of its citizens shed. The Spanish colonel, Figueroa, having gained over a part of the garrison, attempted to overthrow the newly established government, and to restore the old régime. Fortunately the junta was able to bring an opposing force, which defeated the hostile faction: fifty-six lives only were lost. The Spanish leader was taken, brought to trial, and shot. The indignation of the people was satisfied by this act of justice, though the Spanish residents in general were loudly accused of being implicated. It was also known that the *real audiencia* had encouraged, and secretly assisted, the conspirators. That tribunal was therefore dissolved, but its members were permitted to remain in the capital, in the undisturbed possession of their liberty; and a tribunal called "*camara de apelacion*" (court of appeal) was substituted in its room.

At the time Figueroa attempted to carry his plot into execution, the Chilenos were occupied in the choice of members of the first congress, which assembled in June, 1811. Its measures were distinguished by liberality. It reformed many abuses; proclaimed unrestricted commerce, with an exception in favour of coarse cloths and flannels; and decreed that the office of regidor, hitherto hereditary or purchaseable, should thenceforth be filled up by annual parochial elections; useless places were abolished,

and salaries reduced. The clergy were to be paid by the treasury, and they were forbidden to take fees from their parishioners. A manufactory of arms, a school for artillery, and other useful establishments, were ordered. It had the honour to be the first legislative body in Spanish America which took effectual steps to bring about the gradual but total abolition of slavery within the republic. Children born of slaves after the date of its first meeting were declared to be free, and all slaves brought into the country were to receive their freedom after residing there a specified period. The liberty of the press was established, and a happy futurity seemed to dawn upon the infant republic. But the unprincipled ambition of three young men arrested the beneficent march of events, and introduced into the bosom of the state intestine commotions. The three Carreras were descended from a highly respectable family, and held commissions in the army. They were, particularly the eldest, gifted with talents which gave them some claims to consideration, in spite of licentious habits, until they brought their country to the brink of ruin, for the sake of personal aggrandizement. Their sister, called the Anna Bulleyn of Chile, was a powerful instrument in forwarding their designs; and although some forty summers have now passed over her head, she still retains the bloom of beauty. She is a woman of splendid natural abilities, but, it is said, too much addicted to the artful intrigues of political parties.

The disproportioned numbers of deputies chosen for the city and province of Santiago, and the illegality

of some elections, according to the provisions of an act made by the first junta, produced much disquietude, and some heated remonstrances from the provinces. Congress seeing the necessity of an alteration, reduced the number of deputies to one half, and countenanced the re-election of those for Concepcion. Tranquillity was restored, but reform was the pretext of the Carreras. Possessed of manners which rendered them favourites with the troops, and with many of the people, they formed a party, seized the helm of government, and, on the 2nd of December, 1811, dissolved the congress.

A junta was formed, at the head of which the elder brother placed himself. Public affairs were conducted in a manner which could not produce any other result than divisions and discontent in every class of society. Dissensions, which afterwards arose between the brothers, occasioned the momentary retirement of the elder; but a reconciliation having been brought about, he re-assumed his post at the head of the junta. Meanwhile, Abascal, viceroy of Peru, who had always affected a desire to maintain a good understanding with the democratical government, watched the progress of anarchical principles, and was not slow to avail himself of the opportunity which the general dissatisfaction, arising out of the misrule of the Carreras, gave, to make their usurpation subservient to his own sinister views. Accordingly he despatched a force from Lima, under General Pareja, who disembarked at San Vicente, near Talcahuano, in the beginning of the year 1813.

It appears throughout the revolution, that the

Chilenos have almost invariably erred on the side of extreme moderation. Neither the conspiracy of Figueroa, nor the disturbances which were caused by the Spaniards at Aconcagua and other points, nor the unequivocal signs of enmity daily manifested by the Spanish residents to the new establishment, were sufficient to induce the incautious Chilenos to displace those Europeans who had been appointed to responsible situations by the king's government. One of the natural consequences of this misplaced confidence was, the instant surrender of Concepcion by the governor, a Spaniard, who had thoughtlessly been permitted to retain his command. At Talcahuano, a Creole officer and a priest made some resistance, but these two Chilenos having no other support than the enthusiasm of an unarmed population, were speedily reduced to submission, and Talcahuano, like the neighbouring city of Concepcion, became a royalist station.

The intelligence of the landing of Pareja, and of his uninterrupted march towards the river Maule, at length awakened the Chilenos from their slumber. The manner in which they met the threatening danger did honour to their spirit and patriotism. Party feeling disappeared; just causes of complaint of the Carreras were consigned to oblivion; and rival factions were lost sight of in a noble emulation to make every sacrifice to preserve their country from the yoke so lately shaken off. The provinces resounded with expressions of corresponding feelings, and unanimity once more pervaded the public mind. A military chest, with ample funds, was

instantly formed, and a force of six thousand men sent into the field as if by magic. The command was intrusted to Don José Miguel Carrera, who, upon quitting Santiago, delegated the civil power to his brother, Don Juan José, one of the three to whose unbridled ambition Chile traces her heaviest misfortunes.

The campaign was opened on the 31st of March, 1813, by a bold and skilful movement with a division of the Chileno troops, which fell by surprise upon the whole royalist army at a place called Yerbas Buenas. Had the first success been immediately followed by repeated blows skilfully directed, the contest might have been decided at once; but the undisciplined levies of the patriots scattered themselves to indulge in pillage, instead of pursuing the affrighted royalists; who, left to recover themselves, rallied, and took up an advantageous position. The specimen which General Pareja had of the valour of the Chilenos induced him to retire to San Carlos (about thirty-five leagues from Yerbas Buenas), in front of which town he posted his troops, on ground favourable for defence, and awaited a second attack. In a severe action, which lasted several hours, Carrera was unable to break the squares of the royalists, nor was it till the following morning that the patriots had the satisfaction to find that they had obtained a victory. Then the patriots discerned that the royalists had retreated, leaving the field covered with dead and wounded. Their garrisons, hastily withdrawn from Concepcion and Talcahuano, concentrated at Chillan, whither General Pareja fled for shelter, and where he died,

in old age it is true, but, as is generally supposed, of chagrin at his unlooked for reverses.

Colonel Sanchez succeeded to the command, and displayed extraordinary activity in strengthening, by field-works, every point around the town of Chillan.

The siege which followed was long and harassing. The patriots obtained signal successes in various assaults, and penetrated at last to the great square in the centre of the city; but the Spaniards, retiring to a convent which served as a sort of citadel, maintained themselves there against all the efforts of a force but poorly provided with means of attack. The severity of the weather, from rain and cold, at length obliged the patriots to raise the siege, which had been signalized by many brilliant proofs of personal courage, and in which not a few of the gallant Chilenos met an honourable death.

From that time the fortune of war inclined alternately to either side. A series of minor affairs took place, in which, on the part of the patriots, the names of O'Higgins and of Mackenna shine with distinguished lustre. But the Spaniards had better officers, and the tactics of their general frequently rendered indecisive the undisciplined valour of the patriot forces. The royalist general, fruitful in resources, had the address to bring over the Araucanian Indians to his support. He also availed himself so well of the ancient habits of the Chilenos, and of their blind submission to the orders of the king, that he found little difficulty in swelling his ranks with recruits from the brave but misguided peasantry within the limits of the country occupied by the royalists.

In this undertaking Sanchez was ably seconded by the efforts of Spanish missionaries, who employed those engines which are likely to succeed with the ignorant and superstitious. Unfortunately many of the peasantry were at that time further confirmed in their hostility to the cause of independence by the absence of all discretion and common morality in the conduct of the Carreras, whose excesses rendered their dismissal a measure of indispensable necessity, because their example led the patriot troops into the greatest irregularities.

José Miguel Carrera had shown his military incapacity by not making the most of the advantages gained by the brave Chilenos under his orders at Yerbas Buenas. He next converted his command into a sort of dictatorship in the districts occupied by his troops. At length the government of Santiago found energy enough to suspend the Carreras from rank and employment. They were ordered to Santiago, but they were taken on the road by the royalists, and sent to Chillan as prisoners of war.

Colonel Don Bernardo O'Higgins, who, on the 24th of November, 1813, succeeded Carrera in the command of the army, had distinguished himself for personal courage and rectitude of conduct; whilst the prudence and talents of Mackenna made up in some measure for the deficiency of discipline and want of organization in the patriot forces.

The independents were formed into two brigades: one under O'Higgins, in Concepcion; the other under Mackenna, at Membrillar, near Chillan.

About this time the royalist cause was strengthened

by a reinforcement from Lima, under the command of General Gainza, whose personal and professional qualities rendered him a formidable enemy; but, in spite of these changes, almost a year passed without producing any important occurrence.

On the 19th March, 1814, Mackenna repulsed, at Membrillar, a sharp attack of General Gainza, who, on the following day, was again worsted by the corps of O'Higgins, hastening from Concepcion to the support of Mackenna*. Discouraged by these rencontres, Gainza left the patriot brigades behind him, and marched towards the capital, an open city without a garrison. The movement was made in the idea that O'Higgins would be unable to follow for want of horses. Gainza crossed the river Maule eighty leagues south of Santiago, and took the city of Talca, but not without a heroic though unavailing opposition from a party of the inhabitants, who, unprovided with means of defence, perished in the vain attempt to preserve the town.

The people of Santiago ascribed the loss of Talca to the negligence of the executive. It was therefore considered opportune to dissolve the governing junta of three persons, and to nominate a supreme director. Don Francisco Lastra was the first to be invested with that dignity. He hastily collected a small division, and sent it, under Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron, against the enemy; but that officer was totally defeated at Cancharayada by the vanguard of the royalists

In the meanwhile O'Higgins prepared to follow

* This officer, a native of Ireland, was killed by one of the Carreras, in a duel fought at Buenos Ayres in 1814.

Gainza; and, by forced marches, made under great difficulties, arrived on the left bank of the river. He immediately bivouacked, as if it had been his intention to remain there for the purpose of watching the enemy's motions; but as soon as it became dark he crossed the rapid Maule at several points, a few miles above the Spanish posts. When morning broke, the astonished enemy beheld the patriot army in a strong position, which commanded the road to Santiago, as well as that to Chillan, the centre of the royalist resources. The masterly passage of the Maule may be considered as equivalent to a victory. General Gainza, cut off from retreating either way, was compelled to shut himself up in Talca.

It was during this state of affairs that Captain Hillyar, of His Britannic Majesty's ship Phœbe, arrived from Callao at Valparaiso with overtures from the viceroy of Peru. The supreme director appointed commissioners to negotiate, and Captain Hillyar accompanied them to Talca, where, under his mediation, a treaty was concluded, on the 5th of May, 1814. General Gainza bound himself to reimbark for Peru, with all his troops, within the space of two months, and to leave the fortifications of every place, then occupied, in the same state in which he found them. It was also stipulated that the viceroy should acknowledge the new order of things, whilst Chile engaged on her part to send deputies to the Spanish cortes, and to acknowledge the government established in the peninsula during the captivity of Ferdinand the Seventh. Hostages were given on both sides.

The Chilenos in general expressed their dissatis-

faction at a convention which they considered disadvantageous, under circumstances which gave just grounds for hope that a single blow would have terminated the campaign gloriously, and rendered the country completely independent of Spain. Nevertheless peace was considered so firmly established, that the militia were permitted to return to their homes, the troops of the line were indiscreetly reduced, and the directorial government hastened to fulfil, with scrupulous fidelity, such articles of the treaty as could be carried into immediate execution.

Don José Miguel and Don Luis Carrera had been set at liberty by the royalists in virtue of the treaty of Talca. Don Juan José had been banished across the Andes, but had returned. In May, 1814, a court martial was ordered to assemble, for the purpose of exhibiting (as was stated to the public) the bad conduct of the three brothers. Don Luis was arrested, but Don José Miguel and Don Juan José succeeded in concealing themselves. The present juncture was considered by them to be favourable to a new usurpation of the reins of government. They secretly organized in the capital a party with which they had never ceased to correspond, and which now assisted in carrying into execution their criminal designs. A part of the garrison having been gained over, the Carreras showed themselves on the 23rd of August, 1814, and deposed the supreme director Lastra.

A junta was formed, and the elder Carrera placed himself at the head of it, as in the first usurpation. The indignant citizens, although much dissatisfied with Lastra, immediately assembled, and signified

their extreme displeasure to the Carreras; but finding the latter deaf to remonstrances, unsupported by the bayonet, they appealed for protection to O'Higgins, who lost no time in obeying the call. He marched from Talca, and a partial rencontre took place in the vicinity of Santiago. The rival parties were on the eve of a general action, when a messenger appeared from the royalist general, and a suspension of arms was agreed on, to receive his despatches.

The messenger was the bearer of an official letter, intimating that the viceroy had refused to ratify the treaty of Talca; that the only measure left for the insurgent authorities to secure the royal clemency was by surrendering at discretion. The despatch concluded by the assurance that the sword was unsheathed, in order not to leave one stone upon another in case of resistance.

It also appeared that General Gainza had been recalled to Peru, although he had some claims upon the consideration of a viceroy remarkable for his disregard of public faith towards the patriots, but who in other respects bore an honourable character. Gainza had violated the treaty by remaining, under various pretexts, in Concepçion, until General Osorio arrived with fresh troops, and a supply of military stores of every kind; and events ultimately proved that he had signed the treaty for no other purpose than that time might be gained for these reinforcements to arrive. The plan of the Spaniards was so well formed, that 4000 troops were already within fifty leagues of the capital when the summons for unconditional submission was received.

Agitated by conflicting feelings, O'Higgins magnanimously sacrificed his just resentments to save his country. He acceded to the demands of his rival, and nobly turned his arms against the common enemy. Carrera followed O'Higgins with a strong division; but discipline no longer gave efficiency to soldiers who had often fought gloriously: desertion to an alarming extent prevailed. To consolidate his ill-acquired power, Carrera had removed from the army some deserving officers, and had banished from the capital many distinguished citizens, for no other reason than their discountenance of his arbitrary proceedings.

O'Higgins encountered the royalist force on the bank of the river Cachapoal; but, having only 900 men, was defeated, and he took shelter in the town of Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago. He caused the entrances of the streets to be blocked up, and made the place as difficult of access as his very slender means permitted.

On the 1st of October, 1814, the royalists commenced an attack which lasted for thirty-six hours, during which time the fire on both sides was kept up with unremitting vigour. Each party hoisted the black flag, and no quarter was given. In the hottest of the action the magazine of the patriots exploded, and produced the most destructive effects; but, undismayed by the heavy misfortune, their efforts seemed to redouble, and the Spanish general determined to abandon the enterprise. He had actually given orders to retreat, under the impression that Carrera, who had remained an unmoved spectator, would cut off his retreat, and that his exhausted

royalists would be attacked in a disadvantageous position by that chief with fresh troops. But General Ordoñez, the second in command, perceiving the inaction of Carrera, who evidently exhibited no intention to effect a diversion, or to send to O'Higgins the smallest succour, determined upon making another grand effort. By means of the hatchet and the flames the royalists penetrated through the walls of the houses, and at length fought their way, inch by inch, to the square in the centre of the town. Here O'Higgins made his last stand with two hundred survivors: worn out with fatigue, tormented with raging thirst, and surrounded by heaps of slain, till observing all was lost, he, although wounded in the leg, headed the brave remnant of his party, and gallantly cut his way through the royalists. Such was the impression produced by this desperate act of valour, that none ventured to pursue the patriots, who continued their retreat without further molestation to the capital. The royalists remained in Rancagua to despatch the wounded; to butcher the few remaining inhabitants; and to destroy what had escaped the flames.

The Carreras had still under their command one thousand five hundred men; but they abandoned the capital without a struggle. The depredations committed by the troops of the Carreras irritated the citizens to such a degree, that a deputation was sent to Osorio, to request him to enter Santiago and re-establish order. Six hundred troops crossed the Andes with Carrera. General O'Higgins emigrated with about one thousand four hundred persons; many of them

were ladies of rank, who passed the snowy ridges of the Andes on foot. All were received at Mendoza with generous hospitality by General San Martin, and few returned home until after the battle of Chacabuco in 1817.

In Santiago, Osorio assumed the rank and exercised the powers of captain-general. His first measure was to proclaim an amnesty; and some of the wealthy citizens, who had fled to their estates, or to distant parts of the country, returned to the bosom of their families: but so soon as Osorio felt himself secure, he threw off the mask, and imitated the rest of his countrymen in their violation of the most solemn engagements with Americans. In less than a month after the disaster of Rancagua, the principal citizens of the capital were arrested. Confiscation, prosecution, and imprisonment were the order of the day; but, fearful of exasperating too far a people who bore the yoke with extreme impatience, the captain-general had not the courage to shed the blood of his victims.

Forty-six fathers of families, most of them in the decline of life, some of very advanced age, two of them paralytic, and all of them accustomed to the comforts and conveniences of affluence, were crowded into a Spanish corvette of war, and transported to the island of Juan Fernandez. Sentinels were placed at the cabin doors with orders to fire upon any who might put their heads out to breathe a less impure atmosphere. None were permitted to retire for a moment, even upon the most urgent occasion; and pestiferous air, engendered by the congregation of persons, and the accumulation of filth, might have

caused the death of all, or the greater part, and thus have produced the effect probably intended by Osorio, had the voyage been tedious; but luckily the passage was made in a single week. The patriots were left on shore with no other allowance than the rations of a soldier. Their wives and daughters, clad in deep mourning, besought with tears and prayers for permission to share the exile of their husbands and fathers; but the tyrant not only turned a deaf ear to their piteous entreaties, but forbade all communication under the severest penalties. One lady only overcame the difficulties thrown in the way. By the kind interposition of Sir Thomas Staines of H. M. S. Briton, with the captain of the corvette, the amiable and accomplished Doña Rosario de Rosales was permitted to follow her father, who was between seventy and eighty years of age.

Until 1813 Juan Fernandez had been the island to which criminals were banished. Since that period rats had multiplied to an incredible extent. They soon devoured a fourth part of the provisions sent from Chile for the patriot exiles; and although millions of the vermin were destroyed, there was no perceptible diminution in their numbers. The situation of the unfortunate exiles was aggravated by the extortions of successive governors, who, under pain of death, prohibited the introduction of the smallest supply from their families or friends, unless it passed previously through their own hands. Five hundred per cent. was considered a conscientious profit. It was seldom that the cruel orders of government were evaded. Sometimes the governor permitted the owners to take

a small proportion of what had not been plundered on the passage, and, countenanced by higher authority, sold the rest at enormous prices by public auction; the right owners being generally the only bidders. By such nefarious means one of the governors realized in less than a year upwards of 20,000 dollars.

The jail of Santiago was filled with persons of condition suspected of *infidencia*, or a political bias towards independence. Many of them became the victims of a plot, which seems to have been got up for no other purpose than to gratify the pleasure which some of the vilest of Spaniards felt in the shedding of blood.

The two battalions of the regiment of Talavera were composed of the worst characters from the Peninsula. It was the terror of Chile, on account of the systematic perpetration of enormities, which caused females to secrete themselves, if they could, wherever the regiment appeared. The officers not only set a frightful example, but openly encouraged their men; and it is difficult to decide which party exceeded the other in deeds which must not be particularised, but which frequently occasioned death.

Captain Sambruno, pre-eminent in atrocity amongst the atrocious *Talaverinos*, had been selected by Osorio to fill the office of chief *del tribunal de vigilancia*, a police appointment, which gave to Sambruno ample opportunities to indulge in passions at once malignant and licentious. Gentlemen were sometimes thrown into prison with threats of immediate execution, in order that a beautiful daughter or sister might become the intercessor. The sequel need not be told.

Not content with the commission or encouragement of such outrages, Sambruno formed a plan for the destruction of the immured citizens. A serjeant and a few other *Talaverinos* were employed to represent to the prisoners, that their incarceration had excited the sympathy of the royalist troops, who were stated to be in readiness to rise to overthrow Osorio, and to establish a government independent of Spain. Improbable as was the tale, the unhappy men fell into the snare, and, at an appointed hour of the second or third night, suffered themselves to be let out of their dormitories by the pretended conspirators, and conducted to the *salon*, or great room, to deliberate upon measures expedient to be adopted to secure their offered freedom. When a number were assembled, Sambruno, at the head of a party of *Talaverinos*, burst into the *salon*, and carried on the work of butchery with an unrelenting ferocity, worthy the times of Robespierre. Osorio, who was not always able to restrain the *Talaverinos*, sent his *fiscal* Rodriguez to put a stop to the massacre; but when the *fiscal* arrived, murder had already finished its task, and the assassins were in the act of throwing the lifeless bodies from a gallery into the court below *.

To detail every other act of tyranny committed by Osorio, and his still more cruel successor General Marco, would fill a volume. Suffice it to say, that in two years and four months the barbarity of these despots caused more mourning to be worn by the principal families around, more oppression in every

* Sambruno was taken prisoner at the battle of Maipo; tried for murder, and suffered death in front of the prison of Santiago, amidst the execrations of the populace.

class of the people, and spread more ruin over the country in general, than all the misfortunes of every other period of the war of independence in Chile.

The domination of the tyrants was not, however, altogether free from alarms. The captain-general was, from time to time, made uneasy by the intelligence of the warlike preparations of General San Martin at Mendoza. Accordingly, cruel edicts were published and enforced to augment the royalist army, not merely for the defence of Chile against the threatened invasion, but also under the pretence to act on the offensive, by seeking the patriots on their own ground in the Pampas, and ultimately to open the way to Buenos Ayres. But the extraordinary activity and boldness of a patriot guerilla party soon obliged Osorio to confine his views to Chile.

Don Manuel Rodriguez, a barrister, was the son of a distinguished Chileno family, and had latterly been employed with remarkable success as an emissary of General San Martin. A price was set upon the head of Rodriguez; but he, without arms, undertook to supply himself by taking them from his enemies, and to produce the necessity of separating the royal army into detachments, and of dispersing them over the country. Rodriguez entered various towns, proclaimed their independence, took horses from the royalists, and harassed them by every species of hostility in his power.

The captain-general was obliged to send strong divisions to distant points, in order to prevent a general rising. Whenever one of these approached the spot where Rodriguez chanced to be, the roads were

lined, and ambuscades planted at every outlet to prevent escape; but, well acquainted with the localities, Rodriguez would order his guerillas to disperse, and rendezvous at some point distant from any royalist garrison, where he would again hoist the standard of independence; again draw upon himself a superior force; and again elude their vigilance. This was the less difficult, as the people every where clamoured for a deliverer. Rodriguez could easily awaken their enthusiasm, and, when overpowered, could safely rely upon their assistance in making his escape. Although the people sometimes suffered severely for these proofs of their attachment, nothing could keep down the spirit of patriotism whenever an incident brought it into play. Thus supported, Rodriguez, with all the resources of his ready genius, and with a valour bordering upon rashness, occupied the attention of the royalists, and certainly contributed in a great measure to pave the way to the subsequent successes of the army of the Andes.

A division was also effected in the south by Commandant Freyre and the intrepid Neira, who took possession of Talca with a small force, raised in the province of Concepcion, and composed partly of men who had been expelled from their homes, either by the edicts of the captain-general, or by an apprehension of sooner or later becoming his victims.

To arrest the progress of the Spanish arms, in the first instance, to recover the ground that had been lost, in the second, and, finally, to elevate Chile to the rank of an independent state, was the object of assembling an army at Mendoza. San Martin formed

that army into two brigades, and placed them under the respective command of Generals Soler and O'Higgins. The passage of that wondrous barrier the Andes has already been described.

On the 7th of February, 1817, Major Don Enrique Martinez, commanding the advance of the army of the Andes, drove in the Spanish piquet at La Guardia, which suffered some loss. On the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Necochea routed, with inferior forces, a body of royalist hussars. Having overcome the first difficulties, in defiles, where the natural defences had been strengthened by hastily constructed field-works, the patriots issued from the mountains, and debouching into the valley of Putuendo, took possession of the towns of Aconcagua and Santa Rosa.

The royalists retained for the protection of the northern provinces of Chile, under the command of Brigadier Maroto, consisted of the regiments of Talavera, Chiloe, Valdivia, two squadrons of hussars, one of dragoons, eight pieces of artillery; altogether about four thousand men, which were concentrated on the heights of Chacabuco, very difficult of access, and enfilading the road which leads from Santa Rosa to Santiago.

The hostile parties bivouacked on the 10th of February, in sight of each other. San Martin intended to postpone the attack till the arrival of his artillery and reserve of horses, expected to join on the 14th; but having ascertained that the royalist forces, which had been detached to the south, were rapidly countermarching, he decided upon immediate action. On the 12th of February he directed the brigade, composed of bat-

talions No. 7 and 8, and three squadrons of the *granaderos à cavallo* to advance. Whilst this brigade moved to the front, General Soler, with the battalion No. 11, the battalion of *cazadores*, and some cavalry, made an oblique movement half a league to the right. Brigadier Maroto, perceiving the left wing of his line in danger of being out-flanked, retired from the summit of the ridge, and fell back a league and a half to the estate of Chacabuco, which offers an advantageous position, with a deep ravine in front. General San Martin followed, and found himself within range; whilst Soler, from the circuitous route he had taken, was yet half a league distant. To vacillate would have been to court perdition. A charge was ordered, and General O'Higgins placed himself at the head of the infantry. The first effort was unsuccessful, the battalion, No. 8, being repulsed with severe loss. General San Martin then attacked the enemy's right with two squadrons of cavalry. The infantry perceiving this, renewed their efforts at the same time. The cavalry of Soler's brigade came on in time to take part in the last charges, which led to complete success. The Spaniards attempted to rally in a vineyard, but they were overthrown by a brilliant charge of cavalry, led by Necochea, whose gallant brother, Don Eugenio, was badly wounded. Six hundred Spaniards were left dead on the field. The rest dispersed, and the patriots entered Santiago in triumph on the 14th of February. On the 18th, President Captain General Marco and three thousand six hundred royalists had been taken prisoners at various points: five hundred escaped by embarking at Valparaiso, and sailing to Lima; the rest who escaped retired to Talcahuano.

Captain O'Brien, aide-de-camp to General San Martin, was sent with a detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives towards Valparaiso. He made some prisoners at the Cuesta del Prado, and amongst the baggage also taken there, the captain found two *alforjas* (wallets) containing one thousand seven hundred doubloons, which treasure he sent to General San Martin, who caused them to be placed in the public treasury. The gallant and disinterested O'Brien received a letter of thanks from the supreme government.

The grateful Chilenos elected General San Martin supreme director, but he declined the honour; upon which the brave and meritorious O'Higgins became the object of their choice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Las Heras was then ordered with a division to follow up the royalists; but he suffered himself to be detained at Rancagua, Talca, and other towns on the march, as if the work of liberation had been entirely accomplished at Chacabuco. Delay originating rather from the inexperience of young chiefs, grown giddy with success, than in a worse motive, enabled the royalists, under the judicious and able Brigadier Ordoñez, to retire without further losses; to collect scattered garrisons; and to fortify Talcahuano on the bay of Concepcion, where they made a successful stand.

While these events were going on in the province of Concepcion, or rather a few days after the victory of Chacabuco, General San Martin proceeded to Buenos Ayres for the purpose of soliciting such reinforcement as might enable him to extend his operations to Peru, and to represent to the Buenos Ayrean go-

vernment the impossibility of carrying into execution their orders to raise, by means of forced contribution, a million of dollars in Chile, as well as the impolicy of attempting it.

During San Martin's absence from Chile, the supreme director, O'Higgins, left the capital of Santiago, and took the command of the patriot forces in the province of Concepcion; two Chileno regiments having been raised during the investment of Talcahuano, which still continued.

The intrenchments thrown up at Talcahuano by the royalists were formidable, when the feeble means of attack are taken into consideration. The ditch on the land side of the town was ten feet deep, and fourteen wide at the top, with a parapet, and here and there a small battery of heavy ordnance. On the 1st of December, 1817, the patriots, led by the brave Las Heras, advanced boldly to the assault, behaved nobly, and suffered severely; but were repulsed: for the Spaniards, who fight well behind walls, were better disciplined than their opponents, amongst whom most of the officers were killed or wounded. Amongst the latter were the gallant Major Correa, a Buenos Ayrean, and Major Beauchef, a Frenchman, Captain Dias, a Chileno, and Lieutenants Carson and Manning, North Americans. Lieutenant Eldridge, also, a very brave young North American, was killed. Although the assault was a complete failure, it speaks volumes in favour of the patriot soldiers, who were animated with the finest spirit of union, firmness, and enterprise. General Brayer*,

* General Brayer quitted the patriot army in 1813.

distinguished by Napoleon, and who formerly commanded a brigade of the French imperial guard, had joined the patriot army after the battle of Chacabuco, and was employed as chief of the staff at the investment of Talcahuano.

In the absence of O'Higgins from Santiago, the seat of the Chileno government, Colonel Don Hilarion de la Quintana had been named supreme delegate, and was afterwards superseded by Don Luis Cruz.

General San Martin, who had returned from Buenos Ayres to Chile, in the month of April, established his head-quarters at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso. The troops, amounting to about 5000, with General San Martin, were composed of the following corps:—Battalion of *cazadores de los Andes;* ditto, No. 8; ditto, No. 2, of Coquimbo; two squadrons of *granaderos à cavallo;* two ditto of *cazadores à cavallo;* twenty-five pieces of artillery.

The division with General O'Higgins in the south, now reduced to about three thousand men, was composed as follows:—Nos. 1 and 3, battalions of Chile; No. 7, and No. 11, ditto of Buenos Ayres; two squadrons of *granaderos à cavallo;* one squadron of cavalry of Chile; ten pieces of artillery.

At one of the reviews which occurred at Las Tablas, Commodore Bowles, who commanded the British naval force on the South American station, was present, and expressed his opinion of the efficiency and appearance of the troops in terms highly favourable; which was a source of great gratification to the officers of the army, who did not fail to give full value to the compliment of a British officer universally respected on that station.

It was known that Pezuela, the viceroy of Peru, was preparing an expedition against Chile. Indeed, it was hourly expected on the coast. The best spirit pervaded throughout the independent army. The troops were in a good state of discipline.

This was the posture of affairs when the subject of these memoirs arrived in Chile.

CHAPTER VI.

Miller—enters the service of Buenos Ayres.—Tour towards Patagonia.—Pampas.—Republican encroachments.—Chascamus.—Los dos Talos.—Spanish prisoners of war.—Las Bruscas.—Tigers.—Lions.—Emigration.—Gauchos.—Ostriches.—Viscachas.—Zorrinos.—Deer.—Indians.—Horsemanship.—Horses.—Return to Buenos Ayres.

WILLIAM MILLER was born on the 2nd of December, 1795, at Wingham, in the county of Kent. He served with the British army from the 1st of January, 1811, until the peace of 1815. In August, 1811, he landed at Lisbon, and was present at the subsequent sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian; at the battle of Vitoria, and at the investment of Bayonne. In 1812, he made an excursion, upon leave, from Badajoz to Seville, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. A movement of the French interfering with his return by the way of the Sierra Morena, he embarked at Cadiz, with his horses and servant, in an open craft, for Algarve, but was cast away at Lepe, near the mouth of the Guadiana. In June, 1814, he left Bourdeaux, and sailed from the Gironde, in his majesty's ship Madagascar, to the Bermudas, whence he proceeded to the Chesapeake, and joined the expedition against Washington and Baltimore, where he witnessed the fall of General Ross. On the 27th of November, in the same year, he sailed from Jamaica with the British forces de-

stined to act against New Orleans. After quitting the Mississippi, he was shipwrecked off Mobile. He subsequently sailed from Isle Dauphine for the Havannah, and reached England in the summer of 1815.

The years 1816 and 1817 were mostly spent upon the continent of Europe. During his residence there, an opportunity offered by which he might have become the partner in a French mercantile house; but, after a very short trial, he relinquished the intention of advancing his fortunes in that way. Returning to England, he soon grew tired of inactivity; and turning his attention to the state of the struggle between Spanish America and the mother country, considered, after due inquiry, that the river Plata was the most eligible point to which he could direct his course. Few English candidates for military fame had proceeded to that country; and this was one reason why Mr. Miller preferred it to Columbia, already overrun with adventurers of all descriptions. After dedicating a few months to the study of those military acquirements in which he was deficient, he sailed from the Downs in August, 1817, and landed at Buenos Ayres in the following month of September.

A very few letters of introduction paved the way to that welcome which is so cheering to an aspirant at the commencement of his career. Upon his arrival, Miller was presented by his excellent friend, Mr. Dickson, to the supreme director, Puyrredon, who, on learning the object of his visit to Buenos Ayres, desired an application to be made in writing. Miller drew up a memorial, shortly stating how and

where he had served, and requesting employment in the army of the Andes, then in Chile, under the orders of General San Martin. A month after this application was made, a captain's commission was delivered to him. In the meantime, the hospitality of his countrymen, and of some Buenos Ayrean families, ripened into friendship. Some tempting prospects and advantages of a lucrative nature were placed before his view, and although he internally adhered with firmness to his original plan of inlisting in the cause of freedom, he could hardly make up his mind to give a decided negative to proposals so flattering to his feelings.

Whilst in this state of indecision, his own resolves were fortified by the opinion of an English lady, who, after some preliminary conversation, observed, "I find that there exists a wish to prevail upon you to devote yourself to money-making pursuits. Now, I dissent from this well-intentioned advice. Were I a young man, I would never abandon the career of glory for the sake of gain." In eight and forty hours from the time of that conversation, Miller took an affectionate leave of the lady, of her husband (Mr. M'Kinlay), and of their numerous family, from all of whom he had received the kindest attentions during his stay in Buenos Ayres. But before we relate his journey across the continent, we will describe a tour which he made, in a direction little frequented, towards Patagonia.

At ten o'clock, A. M. on the 28th of October, 1817, he set out, in company with four Buenos Ayrean gentlemen, whose object was to visit their *estancias*

(or grazing farms). They were attended by two *peons*, or out-of-door servants. Twenty horses formed the cavalcade, the spare ones being driven on before as a sort of moving relay. This is the general mode of making long journeys on the Pampas, if not travelling post. At noon, the party halted at the *estancia* of Don Francisco Masiel. Milk and *mate* were presented on alighting. *Mate* is the infusion of the leaf of a plant, said to be a species of *ilex*, the growth of Paraguay, and is in universal use over a vast extent of South America. It is usually sipped the first thing in the morning, and several times in the course of the day. It is served in an egg-shaped cup, commonly the shell of a small gourd. Sugar and a little lemon-peel are sometimes added, to improve the flavour. It is sucked, very hot, through a *bombilla*, or little tube, generally made of silver. It was the common practice to pass the same tube from mouth to mouth; but the custom is growing unfashionable. Novices frequently burn their lips, or scald the tongue. At other places, in the course of the excursion, ostrich and other eggs were put upon table. The mutton of this country is poor; and pork, on account of its being fed upon the flesh and offal of oxen and horses, is execrable. The *iguana*, or large lizard, and the ostrich, are also eaten. On the following day, the 29th, the party proceeded for twenty-three leagues, over one continued plain, covered with coarse luxuriant grass, growing in tufts partially mixed with wild oats and trefoil. The thistle grows in great abundance; and when it sheds its down, the wind sometimes blows it into heaps, and balls are

formed, which are driven along the bowling-green-like Pampas, until they acquire a diameter above six feet. The general appearance of the Pampas in every direction is flat and uninteresting.

The *estancias* are at considerable distances from each other. People living within half a dozen miles consider themselves as next door neighbours, whilst those who reside within twenty miles form only one neighbourhood. To people invariably well mounted, twenty or thirty miles are only a gallop to make a friendly visit or a morning call. The sight of a tree called the *hombu* is a certain indication of a human habitation.* One is always planted whenever a hut is constructed. It is a large tree, but serviceable only as a landmark and for shade *.

It is, however, the only sort of tree (excepting fruit-trees) which grows within fifty leagues south of Buenos Ayres. Herds of oxen, flocks of sheep, droves of horses, asses, and mules, numbers of deer, and clouds of birds, were continually within view.

One hundred years ago, when the plains were covered with cattle, travellers were accustomed to send horsemen before them to clear the road. The Spaniards finding the trade in hides† extremely lucrative, employed troops of horsemen for the pur-

* Wood was formerly so scarce, and cattle so plentiful, that sheep were driven into the furnace of limekilns, in order to answer the purposes of fuel. We should not have dared to repeat this fact, however undoubted, if a decree of the king of Spain, prohibiting this barbarous custom, were not still preserved in the archives of Buenos Ayres.

† Hides have not only become valuable on account of the immense number of of them exported to Europe, but also because the consumption is so great in South America. Incredible quantities are expended in the manufacture of *lassos*, in the fastenings of houses, fences, and cattle-pens, and in the making of trunks and bags to convey the herb of Paraguay, tobacco, sugar, wheat, cotton, and other goods.

pose of slaughtering the cattle. These men had each separate tasks assigned them: some, well mounted, attacked a herd of oxen, and with a crescent-shaped knife fixed at the end of a long handle, hamstrung the cattle as they fled; others were thrown down by means of the *lasso*, whilst a third party brought up and drew a knife across the throat of the prostrate animals. Others were employed in stripping off the hides, and in conveying them to an appointed place; in fixing them to the ground with pegs, and taking out and carrying away the tongues and fat. The flesh, which would have sufficed to feed a numerous army in Europe, was left on the plain to be devoured by tigers, wild dogs, and ravens. In an expedition of this sort, which generally lasted several weeks, the person at whose expense it was undertaken obtained several thousands of hides, each of which, when dried, was worth four times as much as a live bullock, in consequence of the expense necessarily incurred in killing the oxen, and the labour of drying the hides in the sun. This custom of hunting and slaughtering cattle having been continued for a whole century, almost exhausted the plains of unowned cattle. The herds now seen are the property of individuals.

Oxen seldom wander far from their native pastures, and are easily prevented from straying into adjoining estates by a little attention on the part of the *peons*. Every proprietor knows his own stock by a particular mark which is branded at the castrating season. The young bull is caught with the *lasso*, thrown down, and the horns fixed into the ground

whilst he undergoes the operation. The time of performing this is made an annual scene of jollity; neighbours assembling at different estates in turn, and ending their labours with carousings. *Carne con cuero* (meat in the skin) is a favourite dish on occasions of festivity. The moment a bullock is killed, the flesh on each side of the spine, beginning at the rump, is cut out, with enough of the hide to lap over and meet, so as to be sewed together, to prevent the juices from escaping. It is then covered with embers, and roasted like an onion or potato.

The travellers took up their quarters for the night at the *estancia* of Don Miguel Rodriguez, situated on the border of the lake Bitel, which abounds in two sorts of fish, namely, the *liza* and the *pejerey* (king fish): the last is not very unlike the smelt. Both sorts are sometimes taken to market at Buenos Ayres. The previous rains had laid a great part of the level under water, and it was very irksome to wade through extensive pools, formed by shallow concavities, which retain the water until it evaporates in the dry season. This is the case with many of the pools large enough to be called lakes. Hence fresh and rich pasturage is, during every season of the year, abundant on the plains. *Estancias* are generally established on the margin of a lake, or upon the bank of some running stream. But water is to be got at no great depth by digging wells.

On the 30th the travellers advanced three leagues and a half to Chascamus, where they partook of an early dinner with Dr. Campana. Chascamus is a miserable looking village, situated on the side of a

lake eight leagues in circumference, producing the same sorts of fish as lake Bitel. It consists of about a hundred and fifty mud huts, containing six or seven hundred souls, exclusive of two hundred militia then in cantonments there, preparatory to the establishment of a line of posts about to be formed by order of the Buenos Ayrean government. This was a direct encroachment upon the territory of the uncivilized Indians, who had been elbowed off that the republican territory might be properly rounded. It is not a little curious that the Creole bayonet, which expelled the Spaniards, should be unscrupulously employed to drive the Indians from as much territory as it suited the convenience of the Buenos Ayreans to take possession of. The latter have with reason complained of colonial oppressions: but had the Indians an equal means of publishing *their* grievances, not a slender catalogue of wrongs might make the newly emancipated people blush for their inconsistencies. Fifty years ago Chascamus had constantly in its immediate vicinity some of the Indian moveable villages, which consist of tents made of untanned hides sewed together, and fixed upon a frame-work of poles made fast by thongs. The Indian occupants served for a long time as a barrier, preventing all, excepting their own hordes, from penetrating the country towards Patagonia. Chascamus is thirty leagues south of Buenos Ayres, and as many north from what the Buenos Ayreans had considered their own frontier, although their outposts were not extended so far to the south.

At two P. M. the travellers again set out, and at

six P. M. arrived at the *estancia* of Don Antonio Servieta, a Spaniard, whose house is close to the lake del Burro. On this day's ride the travellers waded through several inundations, and more than once the lower part of the saddle-flaps were under water for above a mile of the road.

On the 30th of October the party set out as usual at dawn of day. At noon they were ferried across the river Salado, twelve leagues from its mouth. The horses were made to swim over after the ferry-boat, the river being there about two hundred yards in width. The water, as the name denotes, is salt, from its source being in a saline soil, which is the case with many streams flowing through the Pampas.

At five P. M. they reached Los dos Talos. At a *pulperia* (or shop and public house) they procured a supper. The only other habitations in the place were three miserable hovels, occupied by thirty-eight Spanish officers, who had been made prisoners of war at Monte Video in 1814. They left Cadiz so lately as 1813, having served during the greater part of the peninsular war. Mr. Miller visited them, and they were highly delighted to see an European; for, excepting a few Creoles and Indians, they seldom saw a stranger. What added to the interest of the meeting was the circumstance that Mr. Miller, when in Spain, had formed an acquaintance with several of the friends of some of the prisoners. He was therefore made doubly welcome; for they could speak of their native country, and tell their tale of sorrows in a wilderness, to a person capable of sympathizing with them.

The government of Buenos Ayres kept those unfortunate gentlemen upon rations of beef and salt, without any other allowance. The little game they caught was an occasional luxury. If they got a bason of milk, it was a rare act of charity. In a scope of a hundred miles around Los dos Talos, there were not more than twenty *estancias*, and those were occupied by *gauchos*, or herdsmen, whose antipathy to Spaniards was most violent, and they often considered them fit objects of revenge. Rendered desperate by such a distressing seclusion from the civilized world, ten of the prisoners, headed by Major Livinia, made their escape two years before. They took shelter amongst the savage Indians, intending to make the best of their way to Chile, then in possession of the royalists: but, after undergoing dreadful privations, in wandering about for above a thousand miles, and seven having died of hunger and fatigue, the three survivors, despairing of accomplishing their object, delivered themselves up to a patriot outpost towards the Pehuenche territory, preferring even their hard lot as prisoners to the life they were obliged to lead amongst savages, whose manners and customs, as described by the major, were disgusting in the extreme. He and his companions were conveyed to their old abode in bullock cars (being too weak to walk) for above twelve hundred miles, unsupplied with sufficient raiment to cover their persons. The major still remained in a pitiable state. His ghastly countenance, long beard, and squalid figure, rendered him the picture of wretchedness; stretched out upon a sort of truckle bed, composed of two or three rugs

placed upon cross sticks, run into the mud wall at one end, and fastened at the other to upright sticks driven into the earthen floor. His eyes had become diseased; and an old sack was hung up as a curtain to shield them from the glare of day. A three-legged stool, ten inches high, covered with a woollen rag, was the only seat for the invalid, who reclined against a wall, the dampness of which was kept off by a piece of canvas battened upon sticks. A long plank, with the extremities between the horns of two bullock skulls, served as a bench for the rest of the company. Some clasp and case knives and forks, some horn spoons, a kettle or two, a frying-pan, a ramrod (for a spit), a couple of gridirons, an earthen dish, and about a dozen shattered cups and saucers, formed the whole of their household utensils. Some *lassos* and *bolas* hung upon the walls, but they were seldom used; because permission for one or two of the prisoners at a time to get on horseback was only occasionally granted, and the favour depended entirely on the caprice of the officer on guard, who, being of the *gaucho* militia, thought such an indulgence would be a breach of trust. The beard of some of the prisoners was of the growth of years. They said soap was an article too expensive for their pockets. If a pleasurable sensation could be felt in the abode of wretchedness, it could only arise from the power of making its unfortunate inmates forgetful, for a few hours, of their situation.

The major received a trifling present of tea with more grateful acknowledgments than, under other circumstances, he would have made for the most

costly gifts, and insisted upon Mr. Miller placing his blanket on the bench already described. This courtesy was gladly accepted; for the night was chilly, and there was no getting under cover elsewhere.

An impressive silence preceded the separation on the following morning. The major, too weak to stand, sat upon his bed, and stretching out his thin hands, embraced Mr. Miller with a fervency that may be readily imagined. The other unfortunate gentlemen followed his example, and also added to their embraces their most earnest benedictions. It was a melancholy parting; for every eye was dim, and even the *gauchos* were moved. Not a word was exchanged by the travellers after their departure till they had proceeded many miles. The major died in captivity; the rest, profiting by the dissensions which arose amongst the Buenos Ayrean factions of 1819, dispersed, and severally escaped to Monte Video, Talcahuano, or Potosi.

The principal dépôt for prisoners of war was at Las Bruscas, about three leagues from Los dos Talos. Five hundred officers and non-commissioned officers were in confinement there; the private soldiers having been permitted to settle as servants in the houses, or as *peons* on the estates of Creoles *.

A ride of fifteen leagues brought the travellers, on the evening of the 1st of November, to Monsalvo,

* Amongst the South Americans who were confined at Las Bruscas for their adherence to the cause of the mother country was Captain Santa Cruz, who, having escaped to Peru in 1819, served with the royalists again until 1820, when the Spanish general O'Reilly was defeated at Pasco; upon which Santa Cruz, with a party of royalists, passed over into the service of the patriots. Santa Cruz was placed at the head of the Peruvian government by Bolivar in 1826.

which contains two or three mud dwellings. At four leagues from Los dos Talos they entered the Monte de Tordillo, a slip of country thinly sprinkled with one species of small tree, which is used in the construction of huts and cattle-pens, and for fuel.

The Monte de Tordillo is, at the part now traversed, eight leagues in breadth. It extends from the sea-coast to Patagonia in a south-west direction, and is infested with a few tigers, which, perhaps, might be more properly called leopards. They are not very ferocious, on account of the facility with which they obtain their prey on the plains. They are not equal in size or in ferocity to the Bengal tiger. They run very quick, but soon tire. They commit great havock amongst the oxen, sheep, mules, and asses. A great many tigers are caught with the *lasso* by the Indian and Creole inhabitants for the sake of their skins. They are also sometimes entrapped in the following manner: a large chest, or wooden frame, is made, supported upon four wheels, and is dragged by oxen to a place where the traces of tigers have been discovered. In the furthest corner of the chest is put a putrid piece of flesh, by way of bait, which is no sooner laid hold of by the tiger than the door of the trap falls; he is killed by a musket ball, or a spear thrust through the crevices of the planks. There are also some lions, but they are unlike those of Africa in form, size, and disposition. They seldom attack any thing but calves, foals, and sheep. The colour of their skin is tawny, with whitish spots. Their head is large and round, eyes sparkling, and nose flattish.

In this day's journey the travellers rode through several extensive inundations, and swam their horses across some *arroyos*, or rivers, the beds of which are perfectly dry in summer. Some Indians pursuing deer were spoken to in the morning. They use no dogs, but gallop after the animal until they approach within thirty yards of it, when they twirl the *bolas** in their right hand over their head, and launch them with great dexterity, seldom missing their mark: they generally entangle the animal by its leg. Deer are caught for the sake of their skins, which are bartered away with the *gauchos* for *mate*, tobacco, and biscuit.

At noon, on the 2nd of November, the travellers arrived at the *estancia* of Don Andres Hidalgo, who formed one of the party from Buenos Ayres. His mud-walled house is pleasantly situated on a rising ground, overlooking the lake of Mariancul, eighty-five leagues from Buenos Ayres, and about fifteen from the sea-coast. Hidalgo's farm was the termination of the journey.

Throughout the tour the land appeared to be of excellent quality, but it improved perceptibly on the two last days; not a stone was to be seen. The soil, for about the depth of a foot, is of a black mould; under that is a stratum of clay, then sand, and below a gravelly bed, until water is found. Some of the lakes deposit a white slime, which is used as a sub-

* The *bolas* are three stones, or more commonly balls of lead tied to the ends of three slips of ox-hide about two feet long, joined in the centre, and may be spread into the figure of the arms of the Isle of Man. One of the amusements of children is to trip up lambs, dogs, poultry, cats, or tame young ostriches with *bolas* suited to their strength.

stitute for lime. The travellers rode for many leagues through grass, trefoil, and wild oats, growing as high as the horses' heads. It no longer appeared surprising that settlers should penetrate two or three hundred miles to form a grazing farm where good land might be had by the outlay of a trifling sum on title deeds, and in throwing up a few mounds of earth to mark the boundary. The inducements are, that the land here is better than the best land near Buenos Ayres, and stock is much less exposed to depredations, because the chance of detection increases in proportion to the distance from a market to dispose of stolen cattle.

A feeling of regret arises involuntarily in the mind of an Englishman, as he contemplates the fertile tracts chiefly tenanted by beasts and birds, whilst his own country swarms with industrious poor, willing to work, but reduced to misery for want of steady employment. No man should be advised to leave his home, so long as he can get an honest livelihood; but when he must starve or steal, emigration to proper spots in these savannahs would be a salutary change. The sober and industrious would, in a few years, become persons of property *in land* and *in cattle,* though without much ready money. Many sorts of produce would be raised which are now almost unknown. Bread is not to be procured in the part of the Pampas now spoken of; and such is the listlessness of the inhabitants in this respect, that they are contented to subsist upon beef and salt, with a little *mate* and the solace of a cigar, rather than undergo the toil of cultivation. The bounties of nature are disregarded,

and the *gauchos* live wretchedly, if we measure their enjoyments by the European standard: whereas, if they laboured three days out of the seven, it would be sufficient to procure them bread and vegetables in as great abundance as they now obtain meat. The axiom that idleness is the parent of vice does not hold good to the same degree in the interior of the Pampas. In Europe, a lazy pennyless man resorts to illegal means for sustenance; but in the Pampas meat is so plentiful, that it is never given or received as a favour. A stranger has only to seat himself in any house he chooses to enter, and he is sure to be made welcome to family fare. The usual courtesies are exchanged, but no invitation is necessary or expected. Indeed, to give one, would be to break through the understood customs of the country.

The *gauchos* are a well grown race of people, and handsome faces are frequently seen amongst the women. The children of intermarriages between white and Indian parents possess an interesting cast of countenance. The men are bold, sociable, and unembarrassed in their deportment. They are good-natured and obliging; but so high spirited, that the infliction of a blow on a *gaucho* is perilous to the aggressor, be he who he may; for the knife is instantly drawn to avenge the indignity.

They have enjoyed from time immemorial a degree of individual liberty not to be seen perhaps amongst any other people. Thinly sprinkled over immeasurable plains, they were scarcely within the control of a local magistracy, and they set at open defiance the viceregal authority whenever it trenched

upon personal freedom. In an unadvanced state of civilization, they retain more of the noble traits of the Spanish character, in the brightest era of the monarchy, than is to be found in the mother country, or in any part of what were once her colonial possessions. Inheriting the abstemiousness of their forefathers, they are surrounded by an abundance more than sufficient for their wants, and they pass their days in cheerful indolence, or in roaming over their treeless savannahs in the pursuit of business or pleasure. Hence dishonesty was rare, and highway robbery unknown.

Robberies and murders have indeed been committed during the unhappy period of civil broils; but the perpetrators have been deserters from the army, and seldom or never *gauchos*, or sons of the Pampas.

Silver and gold were conveyed regularly from Upper Peru and Chile to Buenos Ayres in large quantities, unescorted, in charge of a single conductor, without the smallest risk of loss. This mode of conveying treasure across the Pampas was resumed in 1825.

It is a generally received opinion, that mountainous countries produce a people animated by an attachment to liberty, and endowed with courage to preserve it; while the inhabitants of flat lands are considered to be more pliant to the fetters of despotism. But this order of things will be found to be inverted, if we compare the wandering *gaucho*, who has always virtually enjoyed individual independence, to the abject mountaineer of Peru, who was treated infinitely

worse than the negro slave in any part of the world. Hence it appears that political institutions have sometimes more influence upon the formation of national character than can be ascribed to mountains or plains.

The buildings on the farm of Don Andres Hidalgo were three dwellings: the principal consisted of a single apartment without a window or chimney, forty-two feet by eighteen. All three huts were made of reed walls, covered outside and in with clay. The few spars are brought from the Monte del Tordillo, eighteen leagues distant; the rafters, like those of every house in the Pampas, are fastened by strips of hide, a nail is never used; the doors are frequently made of a bullock's skin stretched out upon a frame. Don Andres had as much land as he chose to allow three thousand two hundred oxen and three hundred horses to range over. This was considered a small establishment: it was formed only the year before. Some *estancias* have twenty thousand head of oxen, with horses, asses, and mules in proportion. One *peon* is equal to the care of one thousand head. His duty is to count them morning and evening, and to fetch back such as may have strayed.

On a clear day the high ridge, called the Sierra de Volcan, twenty leagues to the south, can be discerned with the naked eye. Thither it was wished to extend the ride, but it was not then practicable, nor would it become so until the waters in the *arroyos*, or deep gulleys, should subside sufficiently to render them fordable.

The government intended to take from the Indians such another slice of the Pampas as would place the

Sierra within the Buenos Ayrean frontier; and it may be fairly inferred, that these intentions proceeded from motives equally laudable as those of the Emperor Pedro, who, by way of rounding *his* territories, was very desirous of adding the Banda Oriental to the Brazilian empire. If crowned heads are fond of aggrandizement, republicans are not quite so far behind them as they profess to be, in playing the same game. The Buenos Ayrean outposts were then twelve leagues south of the *estancia* before mentioned, which, together with two or three estates, still more in advance, were consequently exposed to the visits, and sometimes depredations, of the Indians, whose huts, or awnings of skin, are often less than four leagues distant, and within the line of scattered outposts.

Don Andres entertained his fellow-travellers for six days. They amused themselves in chasing deer, running down ostriches, and shooting wild ducks, and pigeons, and quails, of which there are immense numbers. Partridges were so tame, or rather stupid, that the usual mode of killing them was to knock them over with a long stick. Several were despatched in that way by one person on horseback, within the space of a very few minutes. They are so plentiful every where that, in the market of Buenos Ayres, the price is sometimes below tenpence the dozen.

Ostriches impart a lively interest to a ride in the Pampas. They are seen sometimes in coveys of twenty or thirty, gliding elegantly along the gentle undulations of the plain, at half pistol shot distance from each other, like skirmishers. The young are easily domesticated, and soon become attached to those who

caress them: but they are troublesome inmates; for, stalking about the house, they will, when full grown, swallow coin, shirt-pins, and every small article of metal within reach. Their usual food, in a wild state, is seeds, herbage, and insects: the flesh is a reddish brown, and, if young, not of bad flavour. A great many eggs are laid in the same nest, which is lined with dry grass. Some accounts were given which exonerate the ostrich from the charge of being the most stupid bird in the creation. For example, the hen counts her eggs every day. This has been proved by the experiment of taking an egg away, or by putting one in addition. In either case she destroys the whole by smashing them with her feet. Although she does not attend to secresy, in selecting a situation for her nest, she will forsake it if the eggs have been handled. It is also said that she rolls a few eggs, thirty yards distant from the nest, and cracks the shells, which, by the time her young come forth, being filled with maggots, and covered with insects, form the first repast of her infant brood. The male bird is said to take upon himself the rearing of the young, and to attach more importance to paternal authority than to the favours of his mate. If two cock-birds meet, each with a family, they fight for the supremacy over both; for which reason an ostrich has sometimes under his tutelage broods of different ages.

In running down ostriches, there is some danger of the horse stepping in holes burrowed by the *viscacha*. This animal resembles what might be expected between a rabbit and a cat, but is larger than either. In the plains, particularly on the hillocks, these animals

scratch burrows so skilfully as to be safe from inundation. They are divided into several compartments, and several families usually inhabit the same place. On the surface of the earth many holes are opened into the cave, at which crowds of them sit at sunset, carefully listening if any one be approaching, and gaze at the passer by: if all be quiet, they go out to seek for food, and make great havock if they be near corn-fields, for they will not eat grass when they can get wheat or Indian corn. In order to hunt them, water is forced into the subterraneous dwellings, and they are knocked down as they bolt out. Their flesh is not bad eating. A diminutive owl is generally to be seen at the entrance of the burrows, as if standing sentry.

The *zorrino* is very common on the plains. It is equal in size to a small rabbit, of a chesnut colour, marked on each side by two white lines. Its shape is elegant, but it emits an intolerable odour; and at every passer by it squirts, with unerring aim, a liquor so pestilent, that dogs, if sprinkled with it, will howl and roll themselves on the ground as if scalded. This fluid shines in the night like phosphorus. Although this animal is small and weak, it may be considered the terror of the plains. It is dreaded by tigers, lions, mastiffs, and every animal, as well as human beings. Whoever desires to possess its beautiful skin must, in order to catch it without injury to himself, take it by the tail, and hold it with the head towards the ground; for by this means it loses the use of the muscles which enable it to emit its pestiferous defence.

Few rabbits are to be seen on the plains southward of Buenos Ayres, but they are more common in the provinces bordering on Peru. Roebucks are numerous, but the red deer is seldom to be seen, except near the banks of the larger rivers.

One day the party dined with Don José Pita, who was another fellow-traveller from Buenos Ayres, and whose *estancia*, four leagues from Hidalgo's, was the most advanced of any in a southerly direction. There they met a Cacique promenading, with his wives, his children, and a few attendants: some of them spoke Spanish tolerably. They appeared to be of a race superior to the Creek Indians employed with the British against New Orleans. Their faces were stained with the blood of horses, and they wore feathers. Their complexion is copper-coloured, hair long, lank, and of a shining black. The men look upon the women as beings of a less noble species, and accordingly treat them with indifference.

Trafficking with the aborigines must yield a large profit, because a tiger's skin, worth eight dollars in Buenos Ayres, was purchased on the road for a dollar and a quarter. For the eighth of a dollar's worth of Paraguay tea, six *viscacha* skins were bought: at Buenos Ayres the same articles would sell for three quarters of a dollar.

One day was devoted to a visit to an Indian village, or encampment, with the inhabitants of which Don Andres was very popular. These, like all other Indians, have an inveterate custom of begging for every thing they see and fancy in the possession of a stranger; pocket-handkerchiefs, gloves, whips, pen-

knives, pencils, and metal-buttons were eagerly grasped at. They all took a childish fancy to Mr. Miller's pelisse, and it was with evident mortification they suffered themselves to be dissuaded from taking it off his back; a foraging cap was preserved with almost as much difficulty: but, notwithstanding this disappointment, the Indians ultimately separated in a very friendly manner.

As we do not profess to adhere to strict chronological order, some observations, made at subsequent periods, are here introduced, because they are deemed illustrative of *gaucho* manners.

Amongst other exhibitions for the entertainment of his guests, skill in horsemanship is a favourite display by an *estanciero*. He will order a few young horses to be "gentled." A number, never crossed before, are driven into a *corral*, or cattle-pen, which is a circular enclosure, formed of strong stakes driven like palisades into the ground, and tied crosswise with strong slips of hide: it is sometimes made of a mud or stone wall. A bar is placed at a proper height across the only entrance, which is narrowed so as to permit the egress of one horse only at a time. A *peon* perches himself upon the bar, and drops adroitly upon the back of one as it passes out at a gallop; he holds on without bridle or saddle, by sticking his long spurs into the side of the wild colt, which bounds away, kicks, plunges, rears, jumps, and uses every effort to throw his rider until, frightened and wearied, he becomes perfectly manageable. If the *peon* wishes to dismount before the horse grows tired, he trips it up by putting his spurs between its fore legs, close under the chest,

and, preserving an upright seat, comes down himself unhurt upon his feet. The breaking-in of colts is afterwards easily effected, but it is not well done, for the horses have generally very hard mouths. In Chile and Peru the art is better understood.

The horses on the plains of Buenos Ayres are generally from fourteen to sixteen hands high, plenty of bone, and swift. Although their food is pasturage alone, they are often ridden a distance almost incredible. Thirty-five leagues in fourteen or fifteen hours is not an uncommon thing for one horse to perform. The equality of the stoneless plain, and the easy gait of the unshod horse, do not a little concur to render the performance of long journeys easy. The horses of the plains are exposed to the stings of musquitoes, to scorching suns, to heavy rains, and to hoar-frosts in winter, when the south wind blows bitingly cold, all which render them extremely hardy; whilst the liberty they enjoy in wandering up and down the plains, plunging in running streams, or large pools of water, at pleasure, added to the invigorating effects of pure air, render them less subject to disease than the horses of Europe, confined in hot and unwholesome stables, and where the hardness of the roads subjects the hoof to the torments of the smith.

Mares were not used for the saddle until some Englishmen, in spite of the ridicule of the natives, introduced the custom, which, however, is not even yet general. Tails of horses were never cut; but our countrymen have likewise introduced that cruel fashion.

Horses, mules, and cattle bred on some higher

parts of the Pampas, which abound in stone or rock, as in the neighbourhood of Cordova, are preferred, and sell for more than those bred on estates having a soft and clayey bottom.

The *gaucho* can get more work out of a horse than an European. An Englishman, who had been accustomed to ride from infancy, states that it has often happened that, when he has not been able to get a jaded horse out of a walk, he has changed horses with a *gaucho* postillion, who has immediately started off at a full gallop. The horse of the postillion has proved as dull as the first under the European rider, and upon exchanging the same horses a second time the same thing has again occurred. It appears that they have the art of keeping them going until they drop; and as ordinary horses are low priced, the loss and the cruelty are equally matters of no consideration.

The *gauchos* regard with a sort of pitying disdain the timid or unskilful horseman. Their remarks upon a new comer from Europe are irresistibly ludicrous. The contempt they entertain towards foreigners unable to manage a restive horse is more than a counterpart of a John Bull's sneers and scorn for countries which have not the comforts or accommodations of England. When Miller travelled from Buenos Ayres to Chile, the second postillion eagerly inquired of the first, upon stopping to change horses, what sort of a young man he had brought with him. The first shrugged up his shoulders, and answered, *No sabe nada, ni pitar siquiera*, "He knows absolutely nothing; why, he cannot even smoke." This was because an offered cigar had been declined on the road.

On the 10th of November the tourists set out upon their return, and arrived, at dusk on the second day, at lake Ligonel, where they fared badly, and where the musquitoes were so annoying as to render it impossible to sleep. Upon rolling up their blankets next morning, they disturbed numbers of frogs which had crept underneath in the course of the night.

On the 12th of November they re-crossed the river Salado. On the 13th they made a late start from Chascamus, on account of their horses being nearly knocked up. On reaching the *estancia* of Don Miguel Rodriguez, he unhesitatingly lent Mr. Miller two of his best horses for the rest of the journey, although Rodriguez had never seen Miller before, excepting when he passed on his way from Buenos Ayres. The party put up for the night at the house of an *estanciero* who possessed a mill, the rude machinery of which was set in motion by a mule.

On the 14th of November the tourists arrived at Buenos Ayres, having ridden about a thousand miles in nine days, not including six spent at the *estancia* of Don Andres Hidalgo.

CHAPTER VII.

Journey to Mendoza.—Andes.—Chile.—Santiago.—Roads.—Army at Las Tablas.—Mess.—Artillery.—Appointments.—Rapidity of movement.—March.—Lasso Bridge.—Quechereguas.—Cancharayada.—Consternation in the capital.—Rodriguez.—Maipo.—The Lautaro.—Blockade of Valparaiso.—The Esmeralda.

On the 6th of January, 1818, Captain Miller set out from Buenos Ayres, provided with a passport and *fifty dollars*, as outfit, from the government. Travelling post, he took a horse for himself, another for his baggage, and a third for the postillion, who was relieved at every stage. The passport was an authority to pay *with certificates*, supposed to be afterwards liquidated by the treasury at the rate of a quarter of a real, or about three halfpence, per league for each horse, being half the sum paid *in cash* by travellers not upon the public service. The military now pay in coin, and at the same rate as other people. Post-houses are situated at from four to seven or eight leagues distance from each other. A postillion does not expect to be "remembered," but he receives with satisfaction the compliment of half a real (threepence). It is not usually given, and never asked for. Although persons posting across the Pampas often meet with delay in obtaining fresh horses, forty or fifty leagues of road is the usual daily performance. A detached house, of one large room, is appro-

priated for the use of travellers. No charge is made for lodgings. The climate is so fine, that a dry bullock hide, spread in the open air, and covered with saddle-cloths, cloak, or *poncho*, is preferred, when it does not rain, to sleeping under cover. The saddle answers the purposes of a pillow. Those who have been reared in the lap of luxury may listen with a smile of disdain to the mention of these humble accommodations. Such persons can have no idea of the pleasure with which the weary traveller eyes the lowly couch where delicious slumber is not broken until the gray of morning rouses him refreshed, and prepared for renewed exertion. They cannot imagine with what eagerness he alights again in the evening at some distant post-house; nor the relish which hunger gives to the plain but wholesome supper; nor the complacency with which he listens to the rude guitar, the simple song, and the conversation of *gauchos* drawn together by the arrival of a stranger. These are pleasures known only to those who have been content to take things as they find them. Persons of fastidious taste, and unconforming mind, predetermined to pronounce every thing wrong, and who feel in romantic novelty no compensation for fatigues, and the absence of accustomed comforts, might find causes of complaint at every step, and relief only in the publication of their miseries.

After a ride of three hundred leagues, Captain Miller reached Mendoza on the ninth day. It is a large town, in an extensive and well-cultivated plain at the foot of the Andes, and is the capital of the

province of Cuyo. Its most remarkable feature is a fine *alameda*, or public promenade, of great length and beauty, formed by four rows of poplars of extraordinary height and regularity. The introduction of this tree, by a Spaniard, is deserving of notice, because it is honourable to patriot liberality. The poplar was found to thrive exceedingly by the side of the *azequias* (small shallow canals), by which the cultivated spots are irrigated. Within ten years from their first introduction, half a million of poplars were planted. When the revolution broke out, this worthy Spaniard was, by an express decree, excepted from the hostility shown to his countrymen; exempted from the payment of all direct taxes; and taken under the protection of government.

The manners of the people of Mendoza are mild, and, in simplicity, pre-eminently republican. None have much money, although many possess large estates. On the other hand, very few are in destitute circumstances. Ardent spirits are abundant and cheap. Notwithstanding, great crimes are rare. Of seventy-two offenders brought to trial in one year, three only were *Cuyanos*, or natives of the province.

In the country a great deal of social visiting takes place, particularly on a Sunday. Good horses shorten distances, and large parties assemble at farm-houses, where playing at forfeits, dancing, and singing, are amongst the usual amusements. A lady, sometimes in a riding-habit, perhaps with a long whip in her hand, and gentlemen variously attired, walk a minuet by day-light, with infinite grace, on an earthen floor. Waltzes are also common in these gay and good hu-

moured parties; but the heat of the weather makes the minuet more common.

The goître is prevalent at Mendoza, and still more so at the large and populous village of San Vicente, a league distant; but it is not accompanied by idiotcy, as in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

Captain Miller crossed the Andes by the pass of Uspallata, and reached Santiago, a distance of eighty leagues from Mendoza, in three days and a half.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the solitary grandeur of those immeasurable ridges, whose peaky summits seem to pierce the firmament. The wearisome and almost never-ending ascents and descents along the course of rumbling torrents, so far beneath as to be, though within *hearing*, not always within *sight*, impart a character of loneliness not common to mountain barriers, when enlivened by a few scattered human habitations. In the Cordillera it is a pleasure to meet even the stag-like gaze of the *guanaco*, and equally a relief to look at the condor, as, with unfluttering wing, it floats almost movelessly above. The snow in some of the highest table-lands is difficult to pass, because it dissolves in such a manner as to leave a surface like fields of sugar-loaves. Mules frequently sink to the girth, and surmount these obstructions with great toil. The strange noises made by gusts of winds in the reverberating valleys, sound to the ear of the timorous guide like moans; and he does not fail to recount long stories of travellers that have perished, and whose souls he supposes still haunt the vicinity of their unburied remains. He also *enlivens* the journey by tales of witchcraft and mountain demons.

On entering Chile, the scene changes from the sublime to the beautiful. Wherever water is to be found, the fertility of the soil is incomparably greater than in almost any other country of the world. Fruit used to be so cheap that it was the custom for a man to load his mule from a garden with whatever sorts he chose to select, for a real. One of the consequences of the revolution has been to enhance the value of the products of the earth, and a dollar is now demanded for the same privilege. In 1818, as much bread as would suffice six men, for a day, cost a real. At a house of entertainment by the road-side, a real and a half was the charge for a chicken and an unstinted accompaniment of vegetables.

Captain Miller crossed the heights of Chacabuco, and arrived at Santiago on the 24th of January, 1818. Santiago is the capital of Chile. Perhaps it covers nearly four square miles, although its population does not exceed forty thousand souls. The houses are of a single story, roofed with pantiles. The principal residences have *porte-cochères*. The street front is sometimes built into shops, without any outlet into the court-yard behind.

Water is conveyed from the river Mapocho in *azequias*, which run through the principal streets, and feed smaller *azequias*, which supply houses and carry off impurities. The water of other *azequias* is expended in the irrigation of fields. Wherever this can be done, perpetual verdure clothes the face of the country, but every where else barrenness prevails, excepting in the rainy season.

The north side of the great square of Santiago is occupied by the Directorial Palace, a fine building, having the city prison under the same roof. The unfinished cathedral and mean-looking palace of the bishop form the west side. The mint, a very fine building, is situated in an obscure part of the city. The *alameda*, the *tajamar*, or wall to guard against occasional overflowings of the Mapocho, and, in fact, every other great and useful public work, were suggested and carried into execution by Captain-General O'Higgins, the father of the late supreme director. His road from Santiago to Valparaiso is the Simplon of the New World. He also planned and executed several great works in Lima whilst Viceroy of Peru.

On the morning of the 26th of January, Captain Miller quitted Santiago, and, after a ride of twenty-five leagues, joined the division of the army bivouacked at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso. The officers and men were comfortably hutted. The encampment extended over above a league of ground, being intersected by ravines, formed by mountain torrents gushing, in the rainy season, through the bottom of little vales. The different corps, in order to their being conveniently supplied with water, were stationed on the borders, at the distance of about a mile from each other, on the broken plain. Each corps possessed six or eight tents to be used by the guard, and for stores on the march.

Captain Miller reported his arrival to General San Martin, whose head-quarters were at the *hacienda* of Dorego, three or four leagues from Las Tablas. Miller was ordered to his regiment, the Buenos Ayrean ar-

tillery. The commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Plaza, without inviting him to be seated, sent an orderly to show him an unoccupied tent. As his baggage had not come up, Miller threw himself on the ground, and slept soundly till morning, when he received visits from the officers of the regiment, whose politeness effaced the unfavourable impression made by the lieutenant-colonel's uncourteous reception. Each grade had a separate mess, and Miller gladly accepted the invitation to join that of the captains.

Amongst them was Don Francisco Dias, a Spaniard, and formerly in the navy. He was a proficient in the mathematics, understood fortification, spoke English fluently, was familiar with French literature, and was of a disposition highly sociable. His wife, a native of Monte Video, was an amiable woman, and an honorary member of the mess. She had accompanied her husband in all his campaigns, and underwent extraordinary privations and fatigues with unchangeable gayety.

Don Juan Apostol Martinez, a captain in the regiment, who, when a mere youth, distinguished himself in the defence of Buenos Ayres against the British, was a brave officer and a cheerful companion, but of a very eccentric character. His antipathy to Spaniards was unconquerable. He would never call Captain Dias by any other name than "Gallego" Dias, until three duels, in which each received wounds, produced a tacit agreement, that Juan Apostol was never to mention Dias by the name of "Gallego" in his presence.

On the march, Don Juan Apostol was accustomed

to play his tricks upon the priesthood, if Spaniards or of the royalist party. He has been known to send for a monk, and, pretending to be dangerously ill, would, with groans forced by apparent bodily sufferings, confess himself guilty of all the deadly sins. When he had obtained the full attention of the confessor, Don Juan Apostol concluded by relating a pretended dream, in which he stated that he had kicked a priest out of the house; "and now," said he, "behold the dream of John the Apostle come to pass." More than one holy friar carried, for days, the marks of Juan's anti-apostolical feet. For these and other practical jokes Captain Martinez was sometimes placed under arrest; but, as he judiciously confined the exercise of his wit to disreputable friars, and as his character was held in deserved esteem, he always got off with a slight admonition.

Captain Beltran was in charge of the artillery field depôt. The revolution found him in the cell of a convent, but he threw aside the cowl, and became an active, intelligent, and useful officer.

The adjutant, Talmayancu, was an Araucanian Indian, who had been brought up and educated by a missionary. His person was stout and squat; his complexion sallow and shining: from under a low forehead peered out two twinkling eyes, which, from their good humoured vivacity, relieved the expression of a countenance that was often compared to the full moon. He was fond of creating false alarms in the encampment, by answering the challenge of sentinels at night, as if enemies were at hand. The day after his arrival Miller mounted guard: Talmayancu attempted to play his usual pranks upon the new comer; but his

voice being overheard by an officer who knew him, he was detected, and placed under a short arrest.

There were some very fine young men amongst the officers of the corps, and all were extremely obliging. Most of them played on the guitar, or sung, and good fellowship reigned throughout the camp.

The style of living was simple but substantial. A benign climate permitted persons to sleep and to live in the open air, excepting in the heat of the day. *Mate*, served by a lame invalid, retained for that purpose, was taken from hut to hut before the occupant arose from his mattrass. Breakfast *à-la-fourchette* was served at nine. The dinner hour was between two and three: it was composed of excellent soup, roasted strips of flesh, brought to table on a stick or ramrod, which answered the purpose of a spit, poultry, vegetables, and fruit in great abundance. The prices in the camp market were, for poultry one shilling a couple; vegetables for six or eight people threepence; apples and pears a shilling per bushel; water-melons three halfpence each; bread and other articles of food were proportionably cheap.

The rations, which consisted of meat and salt, and sometimes vegetables, for the whole corps, four hundred and eighty men, cost the government less than 1000 dollars per month. The pay of a private soldier was four dollars per month; the half was stopped on account of rations, &c. The net pay of a captain of artillery was sixty-five dollars per month.

Mate was again served round at sunset, and a supper followed for those who chose to partake of it.

Sudden changes of temperature were felt at Las Tablas in the course of twenty-four hours. At noon

Fahrenheit's thermometer would stand at 85°; at sunset a breeze arose, and the mercury sunk to 65°. Before this, black clouds appeared to rise up directly out of the ocean, and were seen flying towards the summits of the Andes, which attracted and intercepted them. Perhaps in no other country is the sun seen to set in so much glory. For a long time after he has sunk below the horizon, he still gilds the summits of the mighty wall of the Cordillera; broken masses of clouds, magnificently tinged, impart to the scene a degree of splendour absolutely inconceivable.

The corps of Buenos Ayrean artillery consisted of ten six-pounders and one howitzer, and four companies of one hundred and twenty men each. The first company was attached to the guns. Each gun was drawn by four horses, and each horse ridden by a gunner, there being no corps of drivers in the service. A non-commissioned officer and seven gunners mounted, were, besides the four already mentioned, attached to each piece of artillery. The carriage and limber differ but little from what are used in the English service, excepting that a pole is substituted for shafts. The horses are put to the carriages by a thong of hide, one end of which is strapped to a ring at the end of the girth high up under the flap of the saddle. The other end of the thong is strapped in like manner to another ring at the end of the pole. The thong traces of the leaders differ from those of the wheel horses in nothing but being shorter. The saddle girth is about four inches broad, and is made of strips of hide plaited. At each end is an iron ring, by which the girth is fastened to the saddle by laces of

hide. It is to one of these rings that the thong trace is fixed. Buckles, collars, cruppers, and breastplates are not in use. Every gunner is competent to repair, or even to make a harness. The only implement required is a clasp knife, and the only material a piece of hide. The *lasso* harness, if so it may be termed, possesses the advantages of strength and simplicity, and is at the same time free from many inconveniences attending harnesses more pleasing to the eye. To protect the wheel from the action of the sun, strips of hide an inch broad are bound round every spoke and every felloe. This is done with green hide, and as the strips harden and tighten gradually as they dry, this method adds very much to the strength of the wheel. Even that part of the overlay which covers the tire lasts a long time upon the South American carriage roads, and when it wears out it is quickly renewed. This species of clothing gives clumsiness to the wheels, and therefore upon going into action it is all cut away.

The exercise of the Buenos Ayrean artillery does not differ materially from the European system.

Each gunner of the first company wore a dragoon sabre. Those of the second company acted as cavalry, and were armed with sabres and pistols. The third and fourth companies had muskets, and acted as infantry. All however were taught the horse-artillery, cavalry, and infantry exercises; and being all equally good horsemen, no difficulty or confusion arose out of this complexity of arms. Every man was skilful in breaking in a colt, and was accustomed to catch wild horses with the *lasso*.

Upwards of six hundred horses were attached to the corps. When wanted they were driven into a circle, where each man would unerringly throw the *lasso* over the head of the horse he had fixed his eye upon. The saddles were put on; the horses hooked to the carriages; all was done, and the regiment formed, in less than twelve minutes. Every movement was made with surprising celerity.

If a horse knocks up on the march, one of the gunners rides up with a fresh one, and takes the place of the jaded animal without the party slackening its march to effect the change. Several hundred spare horses follow in the rear.

The South American artillery can with ease perform a march of fifty or sixty miles a day for many days successively. If necessary, it could march from Mendoza, across the level Pampas, to Buenos Ayres, at the rate of even ninety miles per day; supposing always the spare horses to be sufficiently numerous to allow of fresh ones being put to the carriage after it had been drawn at a gallop for two or three leagues.

The carriages have no drags. To supply this deficiency, two gunners fasten one end of their *lassos* to the washers, and the other end to the ring of their saddle-girths. By making their horses hold back, the purpose of a drag is answered.

On ascending a hill, on crossing rivers, on passing over swampy ground, as well as in bad roads, additional horses are hooked on to the washers. All this can be done without halting for a moment.

To hear Creole officers speak of their cavalry as comparable with the finest in Europe was calculated

to excite a smile in a newly arrived European, who at first sight would consider the comparison preposterous; but when he had become accustomed to the *poncho* and slovenly appearance of the men, and had seen them in action, he would readily acknowledge that no European cavalry could cope with *gaucho* lancers throughout a campaign on South American ground.

The appearance of the troops in general, at the time we are speaking of, was not calculated to produce a very favourable impression upon the mind of a superficial observer. A man on guard without a stock, and perhaps without a button to his coat, was a strange sight to one accustomed to see well-dressed soldiers. Yet the composition of the army of the Andes was good, and although the dress of the soldiers was unsightly, they were well armed, tolerably disciplined, and enthusiastic. National airs and hymns to liberty, accompanied by the sound of guitars, were heard throughout the encampment every evening till a late hour.

A week or ten days after Captain Miller's arrival at Las Tablas, he rode to Valparaiso to see the port, and to deliver a letter of introduction, which Captain Sharpe, of the British navy, had been kind enough to give him at Buenos Ayres, for Commodore Bowles. On reaching the table-land, which rises immediately behind Valparaiso, the vast Pacific Ocean suddenly appeared in view. The sun shone upon the unruffled expanse, and altogether the effect was startingly interesting. It revived feelings which had been excited in boyhood, by the perusal of that part of the history

of the conquest of Mexico which describes Balbao as leaving his companions, advancing alone to the brow of a ridge on the Isthmus of Panama, whence he caught the first glance of the magnificent great South Sea.

With feelings of gratified curiosity, Miller continued his ride along the table-land, and descended the zigzag road which leads to the *Almendral*, a sort of suburb of Valparaiso. Upon his arrival at the port, he proceeded on board H. M. S. Amphion, where he was most cordially received by Commodore Bowles, at whose table he met Captain Biddle of the U. S. Ship Ontario, and Judge Prevost.

The arrival at Lima from Spain of the first battalion of the regiment of Burgos, a squadron of *Lanzeros del Rey*, and a troop of horse-artillery, enabled Pezuela to complete the equipment of an expedition destined to reconquer Chile. General Osorio, son-in-law to the viceroy, sailed from Callao on the 9th of Dec. 1817, and disembarked at Talcahuano with three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and twelve pieces of artillery, in all about three thousand six hundred men. To these were added the garrison of Talcahuano under Ordoñez, and some recruits obtained by Sanchez in the province of Concepcion.

Osorio having completed his force to six thousand effective men, advanced towards the capital of Chile. Previous to this advance, O'Higgins and Las Heras fell back towards Talca. The division at Las Tablas under General San Martin marched to form a junction with that of O'Higgins, in order to give battle to Osorio.

The first little incident that occurred was in crossing the river Maypo, six leagues south of Santiago. The Maypo is a torrent which rushes from a gorge of the Andes. The only bridge over it is made of what may be called hide cables. It is about two hundred and fifty feet long, and just wide enough to admit a carriage. It is upon the principle of suspension, and constructed where the banks of the river are so bold as to furnish natural piers. The figure of the bridge is nearly that of an inverted arch. Formed of elastic materials, it rocks a good deal when passengers go over it. The infantry, however, passed upon the present occasion without the smallest difficulty. The cavalry also passed without any accident by going a few at a time, and each man leading his horse. When the artillery came up, doubts were entertained of the possibility of getting it over. The general had placed himself on an eminence to see his army file to the opposite side of the river. A consultation was held upon the practicability of passing the guns. Captain Miller volunteered to conduct the first gun. The limber was taken off, and drag ropes were fastened to the washers, to prevent the gun from descending too rapidly. The trail, carried foremost, was held up by two gunners, but, notwithstanding every precaution, the bridge swung from side to side, and the carriage acquired so much velocity, that the gunners who held up the trail, assisted by Captain Miller, lost their equilibrium, and the gun upset. The carriage, becoming entangled in the thong balustrade, was prevented from falling into the river, but the platform of the bridge

acquired an inclination almost perpendicular, and all upon it were obliged to cling to whatever they could catch hold of to save themselves from being precipitated into the torrent, which rolled and foamed sixty feet below. For some little time none dared go to the relief of the party thus suspended, because it was supposed that the bridge would snap asunder, and it was expected that in a few moments all would drop into the abyss beneath. As nothing material gave way, the alarm on shore subsided, and two or three men ventured on the bridge to give assistance. The gun was dismounted with great difficulty, the carriage dismantled, and conveyed piecemeal to the opposite shore. The rest of the artillery then made a detour, and crossed at a ford four or five leagues lower down the river.

Notwithstanding this accident, Captain Miller lost no credit by the attempt.

On the 15th of March, General San Martin formed a junction with the supreme director O'Higgins and Colonel Las Heras at San Fernando. The patriot army now counted seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred cavalry, thirty-three field-pieces, and two howitzers.

Ignorant of the numbers and movements of his opponents, the royalist general crossed the river Maule, and was proceeding on to Santiago, when, on the 18th of March, the van guard of each army came in contact at Quechereguas. In the affair which took place the royalist advance was worsted. Osorio, having ascertained the superiority of the patriots,

countermarched with evident precipitation. General San Martin obliqued to his own left for the purpose of interposing between the royalists and the ford of the Maule. The two armies crossed the river Lircay at the same time, at the distance of four miles from each other, on the morning of the 19th, and continued to march in almost parallel but gradually approximating columns over five leagues of open country. The patriots advanced in the finest order, and with the utmost regularity. The Spaniards quickened their march in some slight confusion, and were the first to reach the town of Talca, in front of which they took up a position an hour before sunset amongst enclosed fields. The patriot columns approached, and, whilst they drew up in line on the plain of Cancharayada, some sharp skirmishing took place. A regiment of Chileno cavalry charged; but having committed the error of getting into a gallop at too great a distance from the enemy, formed behind a ravine which had not been perceived; it was repulsed, but retired in good order, under cover of the Chileno artillery, which was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Blanco, and particularly well served. On this occasion Lieutenant Gerrard, a brave young Scotchman, who had distinguished himself the day before at Quechereguas, was killed. He formerly belonged to the British rifle corps.

General San Martin purposed to attack on the morning of the 20th. The situation of the royal army had become extremely critical. The able manner in which General San Martin manœuvred

on the preceding day gave the royalists little room to hope for success in risking a battle; whilst to retire to the difficult ford of the Maule, still five leagues off, in the presence of a superior enemy, threatened to expose their army to destruction. In this extremity the incompetent Osorio is said to have retired to a church in Talca, and to have spent that time in prayer to an effigy of the Virgin Mary, which his second in command, General Ordoñez and Colonel Beza, devoted to action. Disgusted with the pusillanimity of their commander, they took upon themselves to plan and direct an immediate attack. Accordingly, two or three Spanish corps in column, and favoured by the darkness of night, fell unexpectedly upon the patriots at a moment when some battalions and the Buenos Ayrean artillery were moving from the left to the right of the line. The advanced posts of the patriots placed in the open country were dispersed or made prisoners. An ill-directed volley was fired from the line, which became panic-struck, and, upon General O'Higgins being wounded, all fled in irremediable confusion, with the exception of the right wing.

The commanding officer of the Buenos Ayrean artillery participating in the general alarm, took the road to Santiago, and the guns were abandoned. The dispersion of the left and centre of the line was complete.

This affair has been called a surprise, but it does not appear to have been so. The patriot soldiers were allowed to sit down it is true, but not out of their formation. They were not even permitted to

ground or pile their arms. The attack was unexpected, but not unprepared for, and might have been repelled with ease. But the effect of an attack in the dark upon the minds of raw troops accounts naturally enough for the total rout, without it being necessary at all to inculpate the generals who commanded. Nor was it possible for them to counteract, by any conduct of their own, at the moment, the effect of the panic which, originating in a few, spread from rank to rank like wildfire.

Three thousand infantry, under Colonel Las Heras, on the right, partook of the general disorder, but not to the same extent. The presence of mind and bravery of Las Heras enabled him to keep two-thirds of his numbers together, and, under a heavy fire, to rally and form most of the remainder before he left the field. To his courage and conduct upon this occasion Chile is deeply indebted. He retired in excellent order, with his division, and with the Chileno artillery under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Blanco Ciceron.

Captain Miller was fortunate enough to save two guns of the Buenos Ayrean artillery. Ensign Moreno of that corps remained by him. He was a boy of sixteen, and behaved with perfect heroism. He cheered and encouraged the gunners, and kept together a few infantry, until a severe wound made it necessary for Captain Miller to send him to the rear, with one of the guns which could no longer be worked, on account of most of the gunners having been killed or wounded. In the confusion, the patriots on the right began to fire upon the only remaining field-piece, on which,

Captain Miller sent it also to the rear. He then attached himself to Colonel Las Heras, and acted as his adjutant during the arduous retreat.

Lieutenant Don Juan de Larrain, a fine and promising youth of nineteen years of age, was shot through the heart, whilst attempting to rally a dispersed battalion, at the side of General San Martin, to whom he was aide-de-camp. This youth was the son of Don Martin de Larrain, whose family ranks amongst the richest and most respectable of Chile. Juan was one of twenty-seven children by the same parents, of whom twenty-two were then living. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, and he was beloved by all, not less for his amiable qualities than for the military ardour and noble patriotism which marked his short but glorious career*.

General San Martin halted at San Fernando until Colonel Las Heras came up. Having reviewed the division, San Martin set out for the capital.

Some of the fugitives from Cancha Rayada rode eighty leagues in twenty-six hours, and, on the morning of the 21st, spread the disastrous news in Santiago. At such times, facts are not merely distorted, but lost in fearful rumours. It was believed that not so many as fifty patriots remained together in a body, and that Osorio might be expected almost hourly. The recollections of his tyranny and cruelty on a former occasion gave rise to anticipations, made

* Many young men of family took up arms in the cause of their country, but many others who might and ought to have imitated their example, preferred safer occupations. These latter, however, are now-a-days amongst the foremost and most pressing candidates for diplomatic and lucrative appointments.

the more dreadful by the knowledge that the companions of the infamous Sambrumo accompanied him. The capital became a scene of confusion that baffles description. People, with dismay and terror depicted on their countenances, were seen conveying valuables to nunneries and convents for safety. Others were loaded with household furniture, to be deposited in the houses of friends connected with the royalists, or supposed to be likely to be respected in the event of partial pillage. Sights still more distressing were groups of wives, mothers, and young women, who gathered together, and bewailed with wild cries the supposed loss of husbands, sons, brothers, or lovers. Several sunk insensible on the pavement. Despair seemed to have taken possession of every mind. Many of the inhabitants, ill provided with means for crossing the snowy Cordillera, fled, whilst those who were obliged to remain went almost frantic. Don Luiz Cruz, the supreme delegado, did not preserve his presence of mind, and every public department was in a state of utter confusion, until the gallant Rodriguez placed himself at the head of affairs, and restored a degree of order. He obliged the functionaries who had left Santiago with the public treasure to return. He put a stop to further emigration; provided quarters for the fugitives; raised recruits; and took a public and solemn oath not to abandon his country under any circumstances. Many followed his example, and a ray of hope beamed upon the prospect. The arrival of O'Higgins and San Martin increased the con-

fidence which Rodriguez * had inspired, and vigorous measures were adopted to make a stand on the plains of Maypo.

The royalists, instead of continuing in pursuit towards Santiago, returned on the night of the 19th, having proceeded a mile or two, and occupied themselves in plundering the baggage found in the patriot position, and then re-entered Talca. The feeble Osorio, who knew not how to profit by the unhoped-for advantages gained by his second in command, and Colonel Beza, marched northwards so slowly, that he did not again come in contact with the patriots until seventeen days afterwards.

That valuable interval was actively employed by the supreme director, and General San Martin, in re-assembling the fugitives, and in re-organising the army, now encamped about two leagues from the capital. Its numbers might be 6500, including 1000 militia.

On the morning of the 5th of April, 1818, the royalist army, 6000 strong, was discovered at the distance of six miles, approaching by the road which leads from the ford of the Maypo to Santiago. San Martin moved a mile or two to his right, to preserve his communication with Valparaiso.

About 11 A. M. the royalists formed nearly parallel with the patriot line. A brisk cannonade opened on both sides. Shortly afterwards, two patriot battalions charged the Spanish right, but were repulsed with

* This brave, amiable, and highly endowed patriot was, some months afterwards, imprisoned on suspicion of having planned a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The officer of the escort belonging to a Buenos Ayrean regiment, whilst conducting Rodriguez to Quillota, barbarously assassinated him, on the plea that he attempted to make his escape.

considerable loss. Two battalions of the Spaniards pressed forward in column; but whilst deploying, they were charged and broken by the patriot reserve under General Don Hilarion de la Quintana, who, supported by the two battalions which had given way, interposed between the Spanish line and its reserve, placed in the rear of the centre of their line. At the same time, some charges of the patriot cavalry, directed against the Spanish left, made an impression; and in less than an hour from the commencement of the action, the Spaniards gave way at every point. The brave Ordoñez rallied and made a desperate though fruitless struggle at the *hacienda* of Espejo, about a league in the rear. Osorio, and about one hundred men, had previously made their escape, and with great difficulty reached Talcahuano by by-roads. About two thousand royalists were slain, and three thousand five hundred were made prisoners of war. The activity of the zealous Captain Don Juan Apostol Martinez, and Lieutenant Olavarria, who with a party operated on the enemy's rear, was very conspicuous, and they, together with the followers of Rodriguez, contributed to render the victory complete. The patriots lost upwards of one thousand in killed or wounded. Amongst the former were the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Bueras, and Lieutenant Don Juan Gana, a very enterprising youth.

During the cannonade, the feelings of the inhabitants of Santiago were wound up to breathless intensity, which, on the news of victory, found vent in wild expressions of ungovernable ecstasy. People

embraced each other, laughed, wept, and shrieked as if deprived of their senses. Some went literally mad, and one or two of them have never recovered their reason. One man dropped down and expired instantaneously. The glorious intelligence of the victory overtook a large party of emigrants, principally ladies, on the elevated pass of Uspallata. They were so overjoyed, that they hardly knew whether to proceed to Mendoza or to return to Santiago. Several were so overcome, that they were left on the mountain with a few attendants until they found themselves sufficiently restored to resume their journey towards home. The young lady whose filial piety made her the companion of her father's exile in Juan Fernandez fell from her mule, and received an injury, from which she has never perfectly recovered.

Five days after the great event, which fixed the destinies of Chile, the victorious General San Martin repaired a second time to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with something approaching to idolatrous admiration. His object was to lay before the government there his plan for the invasion of Peru by sea from Valparaiso; to solicit reinforcements to enable him to carry his plan into early execution; and to prevail upon General Belgrano to act in concert, by marching with the army at Tucuman, to attack the Spaniards in Peru, on the side of Potosi, whilst San Martin effected a descent near Lima.

Upon the return of San Martin he remained at Mendoza. From thence he directed a battalion of *cazadores*, and piquets of two cavalry regiments, (in all nine hundred men) to join him from Chile. These

orders were given at the desire of the Buenos Ayrean government, anxious to augment its forces, to be prepared for the event of the threatened expedition from Cadiz making a descent upon their territory. In three months General San Martin increased those detachments to the number of two thousand six hundred men.

Previous to the battle of Maypo, Captain Miller was detached with a company of infantry to take possession of the * Lautaro frigate, and to secure the shipping in the port of Valparaiso, to provide, in case of further reverses, the means of conveying the retiring patriots to Coquimbo. He embarked with his detachment on board the newly-purchased frigate of forty-four guns, commanded by Captain O'Brien, formerly a lieutenant of the British navy, and who had distinguished himself in the capture of the United States frigate the Essex.

Valparaiso was blockaded by the Spanish frigate, Esmeralda, of forty-four guns, and by the brig Pezuela, of eighteen guns. The Lautaro was suddenly equipped, manned, and ordered out to raise the blockade. She was officered principally by Englishmen. Her ship's company was composed of one hundred foreign seamen, two hundred and fifty Chilenos, most of whom had never before been afloat, besides the above-mentioned marines. The Chilenos were so eager to go upon the service, that several swam off to the frigate. As soon as the motley but enthusiastic crew was hurried on board, the ship got

* The Wyndham, an old East-Indiaman of 800 tons, purchased the day before the battle of Maypo.

under weigh in a state ill calculated for immediate action. The Europeans had just before received bounty money, and, of all the ship's company, were the least efficient from inebriety, whilst hardly a naval officer could give an order in the Spanish language. Nevertheless, in ten hours after weighing anchor, the Lautaro was engaged.

The Esmeralda seeing a frigate-built vessel approach, mistook it for H. B. M. S. Amphion, Commodore Bowles, who had before communicated occasionally upon subjects relative to the blockade with the Esmeralda, which last therefore lay-to with her topsails to the mast to speak the supposed Amphion. In that situation the Lautaro ranged upon the weather quarter of the enemy, when, having hauled down British colours, and hoisted the Chileno, she discharged her foremost guns. It was Captain O'Brien's first intention to have laid the Lautaro alongside, but having altered his mind, he ran upon the Esmeralda's quarter. The Lautaro's bowsprit caught the enemy's mizen rigging, and hung her in a way so inconvenient for boarding, that O'Brien jumped on board with only thirty followers. The marines kept up a steady fire from the forecastle of the Lautaro, which caused a heavy loss to the Esmeralda's crew, who, panic-struck by the appearance of the boarding party, ran below, and the Spanish ensign was hauled down by the assailants. Unfortunately it did not occur to any one to prevent the two ships from separating by lashing them together, or to disable the prize by cutting her wheel-ropes and topsail haulyards. A jerk of the sea canted the ships clear of each other, upon

which the Lautaro lowered her boats to send a reinforcement; but before that could be accomplished, the Esmeralda's men, seeing but a handful of patriots upon deck, rallied, fired from below, and shot the gallant O'Brien, whose last words were, "Never leave her, my boys: the ship is ours." Meanwhile the Lautaro had incautiously left the main object to take possession of the Pezuela, which had struck, but was stealing away.

Upon perceiving the change of fortune on board the Esmeralda, the Lautaro gave over chasing the brig, and steered for the frigate; but before she could approach, the boarders were overpowered, and both the Spanish ships having rehoisted their own colours, escaped by superior sailing. Lieut. Walker (of the H. E. I. company's service) distinguished himself considerably; and before the Lautaro returned to port, captured a vessel having on board as passengers a number of rich Spaniards, who had fled from Concepcion to take refuge in Lima. Upon them the Chileno government levied a contribution, in the shape of ransom, which more than reimbursed the original purchase-money of the Lautaro.

CHAPTER VIII.

Chileno Squadron sails.—How equipped.—Cholos.—Capture of the Spanish Frigate, Reyna Maria Isabel.—Harsh Treatment of Major Miller, the Bearer of a Flag of Truce.—General Sanchez.—Difficulties of getting off the Prize.—New Danger. —Spanish Transports captured.—Chileno Squadron returns. —Rejoicings.—Chileno Manners.

ALTHOUGH this first naval essay was not completely successful, yet it had the effect of raising the blockade of Valparaiso, and Chile may be considered to have acquired from that moment the superiority over Spain in the Chileno seas.

The supreme director seeing the importance of creating a marine force, purchased the Cumberland of twelve hundred tons, and some smaller vessels. For the payment of the ships, and to defray the expenses of arming and fitting them for sea, the Chilenos made the most generous sacrifices. Not only was family plate sent to the mint, but the productions of estates were contributed in kind by those proprietors whose means did not enable them to place on the altar of freedom a more splendid donation.

It was known that part of the expedition preparing at Cadiz was destined for Chile. The patriots, aware that the struggle for freedom had become a struggle for existence, strained every nerve to meet manfully the threatening danger.

The shipping were soon manned, victualled, and got ready for sea; but a delay arose from the dif-

ficulty of naming a commander. Foreigners, who were candidates for the command, were so exorbitant in their conditions, and so much divided amongst themselves, that the government was unable to select a proper person from amongst those in Chile. The supreme director at length appointed Lieut.-Colonel Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron commodore. He had served as a midshipman and *alferez de navio* in the Spanish navy.

Captain Miller having been a second time strongly recommended, was now promoted to the rank of brevet major; and re-embarked as senior officer of the troops distributed in the squadron, consisting of

	Guns.	
The San Martin	56	Commodore Blanco, Captain Wilkinson.
The Lautaro .	44	Captain Worster.
The Chacabuco	20	Captain Dias *.
The Araucano .	16	Captain Morris.

It put to sea at noon on the 9th of October, 1818. A feeling of anxious solicitude pervaded the whole country. The salute returned by the forts announced the departure of the expedition. A steady southerly breeze enabled the ships to preserve exact order, sailing in line. The highest points of the hills, for many miles along the coast, were occupied by clusters of men, women, and children, who had relations embarked, and towards whom they seemed determined to gaze as long as a sail remained in sight.

A few months before Valparaiso was blockaded,

* This deserving officer has been mentioned as commanding a company of Buenos Ayrean artillery at Las Tablas. An intimate and uninterrupted friendship subsisted between him and the subject of these memoirs, until the death of Dias in 1822.

the country kept in a state of continual alarm, and its rising commerce crippled. The supreme director had left the seat of government to superintend the outfit of the equipment, and through his personal exertions, the object was accomplished under difficulties of no ordinary magnitude. The anticipations of public opinion were various, and generally unfavourable. Some foretold a mutiny; others that the ships would founder in the first gale of wind, on account of the insufficiency of seamen to work them; whilst many considered that a single Spanish frigate would be able to capture the whole squadron. Nor were these forebodings altogether without the appearance of being well grounded. The crews were, for the most part, made up from *cholos*, or native peasants, many of whom had never before *seen* the sea. The naval officers were nearly all English or North American, who spoke the Spanish language imperfectly, or not at all. With a very few exceptions, they affected a prejudice against every thing that differed from the rules of the service in which they had been brought up, and they were too full of preconceived notions to be willing to do justice to the capacity of the unassuming people placed under their orders. But the commodore was a young man who, in spite of a manner which displeases on first acquaintance, fortunately possessed the qualities requisite to establish union, harmony, and good order; qualities more valuable, under those circumstances, than great practical skill.

Being out of sight of land, on the first evening

Commodore Blanco opened his sealed instructions, and as Major Miller had to make their purport known by interpreting to the respective captains, he learned, that their destination was to proceed to the island of La Mocha, in search of the Spanish frigate Reyna Maria Isabel, daily expected round Cape Horn, with eight or ten transports, conveying two thousand eight hundred troops from Cadiz. This information had been acquired in the following manner. The troops, headed by a serjeant of one of the transports, having, on reaching the latitude of the river Plata, mutinied, they proceeded to Buenos Ayres, and placed themselves at the disposal of that government, which lost no time in transmitting overland the instructions given at Cadiz, by which means every rendezvous was ascertained.

During a long passage of the Chileno squadron, the crews were brought into something like a state of efficiency. The marines and *cholos* being continually exercised, were found to possess the valuable qualities which constitute good soldiers or sailors. They were subordinate, and soon afterwards proved themselves to be brave. They evinced an eagerness to be taught, and a quickness to learn. They were grateful for any small attention to their comforts, and always showed an earnest desire to please. An approving word or look seemed to be an object of ambition. In short, they only required common pains to be taken by their officers, in order to be rendered equal to any undertaking. When off duty they sang national airs; and when the officers danced on the quarter-

deck, the *cholos* danced with the sailors in the waist and on the forecastle. They always behaved well; and during a heavy gale, which lasted two days, they were made more useful in assisting to work the ship than could have been reasonably expected from men who had hardly found their *sea legs*. Whilst beating against the prevailing winds, the Chacabuco parted company.

On the 26th of October at day-break they made the island of Santa Maria on the southern side of the great bay of Concepcion; but in consequence of light airs, the squadron could not near it until the evening, when three boats were lowered and manned, to board a vessel discovered at the distance of five miles on the southern side of the island; but the boats were in such a leaky state, that it was deemed unsafe to send them. The Araucano was detached to look into the port of Talcahuano, situated twelve leagues off on the southern side of the bay.

Early on the 27th, the sail seen on the night before was boarded. She proved to be the *Shakespeare*, an English whaler, and gave information that the Spanish frigate, having parted company with her convoy, had touched at Santa Maria; crew sickly; in want of provisions; and that she had sailed five days before for Talcahuano, whither two Spanish transports had followed.

This information was confirmed by a boat from the shore, which was decoyed by the Spanish flag being kept flying in the Chileno squadron, and unsuspectingly delivered up the sealed instructions left by the captain of the Maria Isabel, for the respective mas-

ters of transports, ordering them to rendezvous at Talcahuano. For that port the San Martin and Lautaro immediately crowded all sail. At night they were becalmed off Concepcion; but a fine northerly breeze, very uncommon in those latitudes, brought them, at noon on the 28th, in sight of the Spanish frigate lying at anchor within pistol-shot of Talcahuano. The commodore hoisted English colours, and steered directly towards the enemy, but, on coming within musket range, hoisted the Chileno ensign. An ill-directed broadside was given from the Spanish frigate, and the compliment was returned with as many guns as could be brought to bear from the San Martin, which dropped anchor within pistol-shot of her opponent, upon which the Spaniards cut their cable and ran their ship on shore. Many of the crew escaped in boats, whilst numbers jumped overboard and swam to the beach. Immediate possession was taken of the prize, and an attempt made to get her off; but the wind blowing fresh upon the land, every effort was then ineffectual. At this crisis the commodore sent Major Miller with a flag of truce, to offer generous treatment to the fugitives, if they chose to surrender rather than prolong their miseries in a country inimical to the royalist cause. Upon approaching within fifteen or twenty yards of the beach, a number of *guasos* levelled their muskets; and it was with no small difficulty that Major Miller made them comprehend the meaning of the white flag, and prevented them from firing a volley. Having waited a considerable time in the boat for an officer to come down, and receive him, agreeably to custom in such

cases, he jumped ashore, rather because retreat would have hazarded the lives of his boat's crew, than from any hope of being able to succeed in the object of his mission. He found himself awkwardly circumstanced. The *guasos* formed themelves into groups, to decide whether he should at once be despatched. Some of them, on the contrary, showed a disposition to receive him. Disputes ran high; hard words were exchanged; but at last Major Miller had the good fortune to allay a ferment of which he expected every moment to become the victim.

Two militia officers now appeared in sight. They would not come down to the beach, but beckoned Major Miller to go to them, which he did with some reluctance. On his way, a musket-ball, fired by a *guaso*, lodged in the shoulder of one of the men escorting Major Miller. The militia officers received him with great incivility, and affected a mysterious style of conversation, evidently with an intention to give importance to themselves, and to create alarm. They compelled their prisoner, for the Major was now treated as such, to accompany them on the road to Concepcion; but before they had walked two miles, they met General Sanchez at the head of sixteen hundred men, part of these being troops left behind by General Osorio, when he blew up the fortifications about six weeks previous to Blanco's arrival, and the remainder had been landed from the Maria Isabel and two transports, which had afterwards proceeded to Lima. General Sanchez passed on without deigning to speak to Major Miller, but ordered him to be blindfolded. The militia officers, encouraged by this

appearance of harshness, increased their former incivility, and became brutally insulting. One of them poured forth an uninterrupted torrent of abuse for nearly two hours, and then desired two men to tighten the handkerchief over the major's eyes, which they did with all their strength. Sanchez at length ordered the prisoner to be brought into his presence, to communicate the commodore's proposals. The general listened to them with the utmost contempt, and, with a roughness of manner which showed that he was a stranger to the commonest forms of good breeding, gave for answer that the bearer should be *despatched* in the way he deserved.

In the early contest between Spain and her colonies, the laws of war were frequently violated without scruple or compunction, and a lenient sentence could hardly be expected from a ferocious man, whose feelings had been worked up to exasperation by recent losses and disappointments. Although a war of extermination had never been openly declared in Chile, it often happened that quarter was refused in action, and many were frequently sacrificed in cold blood.

The royalist armed *guasos* in Talcahuano still kept up such an annoying fire from behind walls upon the patriots on board the captured frigate, that it was judged necessary by Commodore Blanco to land the marines, for the purpose of dislodging them, which was soon effected. Upon the arrival, however, of General Sanchez, with his party from Concepcion, the marines were obliged to withdraw to the ships, with some loss in killed and in prisoners.

Major Miller having been taken from the beach

under circumstances calculated to excite suspicion, and the commodore perceiving that he did not return within the half hour prescribed, sent an officer, who threw upon the beach an official letter to General Sanchez, signifying, that if the bearer of the flag of truce were not immediately sent on board, and if he were not treated according to the laws of war, he, the commodore, would order all the Spanish prisoners of war, then in his power, to be hung up at the yard-arm, and that the same fate should await all such as might thenceforward fall into his hands. Sanchez told his prisoner that the commodore had sacrificed him, by having landed troops, and that he might prepare for death. The uncompromising tone with which Major Miller argued his own cause greatly irritated the general, who appeared to be still determined to carry his threats into execution. He ordered the prisoner to be conveyed to a shed, within range of the guns of the patriot squadron, and in the precise direction that they were then firing. It seemed as if Sanchez wished his captive to be disposed of by a chance shot. Several fell near the shed, and some passed through the roof. His guard, fearful for their own lives, deserted their charge for a short time. In this situation, fatigued, hungry, and thirsty, without being able to procure refreshment of any kind, he passed the night. The firmness with which he had disputed the right and questioned the policy of sacrificing him had produced no good effect upon General Sanchez, but it had made a very different impression on the minds of some of the chiefs who were present. Two of

them, Colonel Loriga (of the artillery), and Colonel Cabañas, who had served in the *Guardias Wallones*, both visited him in the course of the night, evidently with a view that their occasional presence might prove a check against personal violence. The interest of these interviews was increased by discovering in conversation that Miller was intimately acquainted with some of Loriga's friends in the Peninsula.

Meanwhile, the royalists erected a battery of four guns, which played upon the Maria Isabel with such effect, that it was contemplated, at one time, to set fire to her. But the unwearied exertions of the officers and good conduct of the men finally surmounted every difficulty. At seven A.M. on the 29th, the wind veered round to the southward: every effort was redoubled, and Major Miller had the gratification to hear the Spaniards lament their own misfortune. The frigate was again afloat, and sailing out of the bay.

The interval of time had been employed by Loriga and Cabañas to make a magnanimous effort in behalf of the prisoner. At first Sanchez refused to listen to them, and it was not until the colonels had given some intelligible hints, comparing the number and quality of the bayonets in their respective battalions with the other force of the general, that he reluctantly gave way to their generous importunities. At eight A. M. Major Miller was led to the beach, accompanied by Colonel Loriga *, and suffered to remove the bandage from his eyes. An hour elapsed

* From the chivalrous part which Loriga acted on this occasion, a warm friendship arose between him and Miller, which was afterwards kept up in Peru by a correspondence, whenever a flag of truce furnished an opportunity to transmit open letters, and by an interchange of kind offices, when circumstances permitted.

before the San Martin answered the signal for a boat, and sent for him. The major's reception on board was of a kind which more than made amends for the villanous treatment he had experienced. All thought that he had fallen a sacrifice, and his unexpected return was hailed with hearty cheers. He found that his marines and *cholos*, upon hearing of his detention, went aft, in a body, and requested the commodore to permit them to land and rescue their commandant.

Soon afterwards the San Martin weighed anchor with the utmost difficulty, for captain Wilkinson, most of the officers, and a great part of the ship's company, were on board the prize; those that remained were almost exhausted from excessive fatigue and want of rest during the preceding eight-and-forty hours. To add to their embarrassment, the ship struck on a sand-bank in two fathoms and a half water. The ship was lightened by starting the water; they set more sail, and she floated into deeper water, but had hardly cleared one danger before she ran into another. The breeze died away, and the man at the helm, being completely worn out, dropped down upon the deck before he could be relieved. The ship broached to, and was swept by a strong current and heavy swell to within half a cable's length of the rocky coast. The anchor was let go, but the confusion was indescribable. The only naval officer on board, excepting the commodore, was the first lieutenant, who, on the day before, had become deaf from the effects of the firing, and now became dumb, or at least so hoarse as to be unable to make

himself, heard; and the commodore, being ignorant of the English language, could not himself give orders to the foreign seamen. Major Miller, the surgeon, and the purser, were therefore the only three officers capable of communicating an order; but as none of them understood any thing of seamanship, the scene became truly distressing. There were above eighty prisoners to watch over, and only fifteen seamen on board, exclusive of the marines and *cholos*, who exerted themselves to the utmost. Two hours before day-break on the 30th, the cable of the San Martin was cut, in the expectation that a land breeze, then felt, would carry her clear of the rock-bound coast; but a heavy swell prevented her from shooting ahead, and in a few minutes she was taken aback, and drifted rapidly towards the rocks. The last anchor was let go, and the ship swung with her stern within a few yards of the breakers. Their situation was now rendered desperate from the exhausted state of the crew, and the great deficiency of nautical skill. The aggravating idea of losing the largest ship of the state filled their minds with feelings of mortified disappointment. At nine A. M. a welcome breeze sprung up, and carried the ship clear off the shore. The time had now arrived for repose, but Major Miller, noting the effects of this harassing service upon himself, has this remark in his journal: "During three days and three nights I did not get two hours of sleep; but, notwithstanding, I found it impossible to close my eyes for several hours after retiring to my cot."

On the 1st of November the squadron anchored with the prize between the island of Santa Maria and

the main land. The Chacabuco, which had rejoined, was detached to cruise off Talcahuano. The Galvarino of 18 guns, Captain Spry, joined at the same time from Valparaiso. This vessel, formerly the Hecate of the British navy, was exceedingly well manned, officered, and equipped. She was brought round Cape Horn by Captain Guise, and sold to the Chileno government.

In the course of a week seven transports arrived separately. Seeing Spanish colours flying at every mast-head, the transports, in succession, obeyed the telegraphic signal to anchor astern of the Maria Isabel. As they approached, the military officers, in full uniform, were seen eager to pay their respects to their commanding officer on board the frigate. Crowds of soldiers, women, and children were looking over the sides of the vessel, rejoicing and apparently congratulating each other on the termination of a tedious and disastrous passage of six months. On dropping anchor, a musket was fired ahead from the commodore's ship, and the patriot ensign substituted for that of Spain. On the discovery of their error, a wild cry burst forth, and their confusion was evidently extreme: they had all been taught to believe that the patriots gave no quarter.

The Spanish expedition sailed from Cadiz on the 21st of May, 1818. It consisted of two battalions of the regiment of Cantabria, a squadron of *cazadores dragones*, and one troop of horse-artillery, in all about two thousand eight hundred men. One third died on the passage, and at least one half of those that

still lived were *hors de combat* from the effects of scurvy. The state of the vessels was filthy in the extreme. The decks were so greasy that it was difficult to preserve firm foot-hold. The misery of the scene was greatly aggravated by the sight of several unfortunate men, who, eaten up by scurvy, were stretched out at the gangways in the agonies of death. Colonel Hoyos commanded the expedition. About eight hundred men, including the greater part of the crew of the Maria Isabel, landed at Talcahuano, and the two transports already alluded to, after disembarking the men, sailed for Callao. A third transport, with two companies of the Cantabria regiment, had also escaped to Callao. All the rest were captured.

The Maria Isabel was a very fine ship of fifty guns, and one of the four which Spain had bought of Russia. The filthy state in which she was found was a disgrace even to the Spanish navy *.

The return of the squadron to Valparaiso on the 7th of November gave rise to the most pleasing sensations. Thirteen sail entered the bay in line, and were welcomed by cheers from multitudes on the beach and upon the hills, amongst whom were many who had predicted a very different result.

The capture of the convoy was an event of the greatest importance: it prevented the junction of upwards of two thousand fresh troops, with one thousand

* Captain Capaz, who commanded the Maria Isabel, was afterwards one of the most clamorous of the deputies in the Cortes against Spanish America. He contended, that a few ships-of-war would be quite sufficient to put down the insurrection. His violence in the Cortes formed a strange contrast with the tameness of his behaviour at Talcahuano. He became, however, minister of marine, and, according to a statement of his own, he received a considerable sum to reimburse his loss of baggage in the Maria Isabel.

six hundred under the command of Sanchez. These might soon have been augmented by forced levies to above five thousand, a force of sufficient strength to again threaten Santiago, from whence a considerable portion of the army of the Andes had been detached across the Cordillera to the assistance of the Argentine Republic.

Soon after arriving at Valparaiso, Commodore Blanco went to Santiago, accompanied by Major Miller. They were met a few leagues from the capital by the state-carriage of the supreme director, sent for their conveyance. The approach was rendered inexpressibly delightful by the cheering welcome of those who came to meet them on the road. Even a party of recruits, tied hand to hand, halted and uttered their *vivas* as heartily as did their escort. On reaching the suburbs, the entry became, *as far as feelings went*, a perfect triumph. A warm-hearted people, recently escaped from the most galling vassalage, felt and naturally expressed their boundless satisfaction that their first naval triumph should have been so complete. They dwelt with honest pride on the reflection that this victory had been achieved by a Chileno commander. They, at the same time, gave their due meed of praise to the foreigners employed on the occasion. Their imagination sketched fresh triumphs, and banished from every mind the idea of subjection to any foreign power. A countenance unmarked with an expression of exultation was not to be seen. This hearty welcome of the people was followed by dinners and balls, given to Blanco

during the eight or nine days he remained at Santiago.

The society of that city is highly agreeable, and foreigners and natives associate perhaps more than in any other great town of South America. This renders Santiago a gay and delightful residence.

CHAPTER IX.

Lord Cochrane.—Amusements at Valparaiso.—Lady Cochrane. —Mrs. Blanco.—Chilenas.—H. M.S. Andromache.—Chileno squadron sails.—Mutiny in the Chacabuco.—Attack upon Callao.—Captain Guise.—Island of San Lorenzo.—Accident. —Explosion vessel.—Gun-boats.—Huacho.—Guambacho.— Pillage of Payta.—Conventillo.—Guacas.—Squadron returns to Valparaiso.—Admiral Blanco.—Prisoners of War released. —Captain Esmonde.

TOWARDS the end of November, 1818, Lord Cochrane arrived at Valparaiso, and, in conformity to stipulations agreed upon in London, was named commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Chile.

His lordship was received by the authorities with the distinction due to his rank, and by the people with the enthusiasm excited by the brilliancy of his naval career. The rejoicings which already pervaded the country were greatly heightened by the accession of so distinguished an officer. The governor of Valparaiso gave a grand dinner on the occasion. The compliment was returned on Saint Andrew's day by Lord Cochrane, who presided in the full costume of a Scottish chief. Extraordinary good cheer was followed by toasts drank with uncommon enthusiasm in extraordinary good wine. No one escaped its enlivening influence. St. Andrew was voted the patron saint of champaign, and many curious adventures of that night have furnished the subject of some still remembered anecdotes.

A succession of diversions rendered Valparaiso more than usually gay. Captain Shirreff and the officers of H. M. S. Andromache, who had made themselves highly popular with all parties, contributed largely to vary the general stock of amusement. A match at cricket between the officers of the Andromache and those of H. M. S. Blossom led to the establishment of a club, the members of which met twice a week, and dined under canvas. The play-ground was a level on a hill, jutting into the Pacific, so that passengers in ships entering the bay of Valparaiso witnessed from the deck sports not to be looked for round Cape Horn. The same promontory was frequently used as a race-course. Pic-nic parties were occasionally got up, and pleasant jaunts were made to Quillota and other places in the neighbourhood.

The intercourse between Santiago and the capital was incessant. A grand ball at one place drew numbers of the *beau monde* from the other. *Tertulias* and dances were given nearly every evening at Valparaiso. The two presiding *belles* were Lady Cochrane and Mrs. Commodore Blanco, both young, fascinating, and highly gifted. The first was a flattering specimen of the beauty of England, and the second was perhaps the most beautiful and the most lovely woman of Chile. To these stars of the first magnitude might be added Miss Cochrane (now Mrs. Foster), who, if she yielded somewhat in personal charms, remained uneclipsed in amiability.

In the bright galaxy of Chilena enchantresses are to be recorded the names of Dias-Cajigas, Cotapos,

Vicuña, Perez, Caldera, Gana, Barra, with a hundred more, all calculated to produce ineffaceable impressions. There was not a single foreign officer that frequented those happy parties who was not more or less smitten by charms and manners absolutely irresistible.

In the midst of these gay scenes the outfit of the squadron was completed.

On the 14th of January, 1819, the under-mentioned ships put to sea:

	Guns.	
O'Higgins	50	Vice-Admiral Lord Cochrane. Captain Forster.
San Martin	56	Captain Wilkinson.
Lautaro	48	Captain Guise.
Chacabuco	20	Captain Carter.

The object of the Chileno government was to destroy the Spanish shipping at Callao; to blockade the principal ports; and to endeavour to dispose the Peruvians to co-operate with the troops intended to be embarked at Valparaiso for the purpose of liberating Peru.

Major Miller was reappointed to the command of the troops serving as marines. His journal expresses the deep-felt regret with which he separated from his numerous friends in Chile, where it appears that both natives and foreigners had, by boundless attentions, established the strongest claims upon his best feelings. The hope that Lord Cochrane would, before he returned to port, attempt something worthy of his naval renown, reconciled the officers embarked to

the change from a life of pleasure on shore to the tedious monotony of a seafaring existence.

The first plan of the admiral was to cut out the Spanish frigates Esmeralda and Venganza from under the castles of Callao. The O'Higgins was to assume the name of the Macedonian, and the Lautaro that of the John Adams, two United States' frigates then daily looked for in the Pacific. A packet was made up and addressed in due form to the viceroy, as if containing despatches from the Spanish ambassador at Washington, and which was to be delivered to the first government boat that hailed. The O'Higgins was to board the Esmeralda, and the Lautaro the Venganza, and the boats of both were afterwards to take a corvette reported to have sixty thousand dollars on board. The San Martin was to anchor outside of the island of San Lorenzo, which was to be taken possession of the day after the Spanish frigates and corvette were captured. The Spanish force consisted of the two frigates already mentioned, two brigs of war, twenty-six gun-boats, and some merchantmen armed to assist in the defence, all supported by one hundred and sixty-five guns from the fortifications.

It was intended that the attack should have been made on the 23d of February, on account of its being the last day of the carnival, when it was usual for most of the officers and some of the men of the garrison, as well as many belonging to the vessels at Callao, to be absent on leave in Lima; but a variety of causes concurred to prevent its execution on that day. On the 22d, Captain Guise went on board the

flag-ship for final orders. Before he could return to his own ship (the Latauro) the weather became so hazy that she parted company, and although signals were instantly made, and muskets * discharged during the night, she did not rejoin until the fourth day, during which interval the weather was so hazy that the land could not be made.

The Chacabuco, which had been sent back to Valparaiso on the 15th of January, rejoined on the 26th of February. On her way out a second time, she put into Coquimbo on account of a mutiny. The sailors, with the boatswain at their head, overpowered the officers and kept them in close confinement for several days, but, instigated by the gallant Lieutenant Morgell, they regained, with the assistance of the marines, possession of the ship. Two of the mutineers were killed in the scuffle, several were wounded, and six of the ringleaders were shot at Coquimbo.

A good deal of fever prevailed in the squadron upon approaching Peru, where very heavy dews fall at night, and where the weather is hazy for weeks together. It happened that a vessel bound to Europe met a cruiser, and hailed to ask if the latter had any commands. "Remember us to the sun when you see him," was the answer.

On the morning of the 28th a heavy cannonading was heard. Each vessel, supposing the others engaged, stood towards the sound, which continued three or four hours, but the fog was so dense that it was impossible to see twenty yards a-head. Ac-

* Guns were not fired, lest the report should be heard on shore.

cording to the *dead reckoning* of the O'Higgins, she was twenty miles inland of Lima; notwithstanding, she carried on sail, and went at the rate of six knots. The peak of the island of San Lorenzo was the first land discovered. It was seen from the mast-head just above the mist, and so close that it was feared the O'Higgins would bump on shore before she could be brought round. The surf along shore was next seen. The anxiety of those on board was great, until the head of the frigate could be placed in a different direction. The fog suddenly cleared away, or rather it had not extended to the land, and the Chileno vessels found themselves almost within hail of each other. A Spanish gunboat under weigh was discovered within musket-shot, and soon captured. The prisoners stated, that the viceroy came to Callao in the morning to review the garrison, and to inspect the shipping. The crews of the vessels and the artillerymen on shore had been exercised at the guns; a sham fight had taken place, and hence the heavy firing which attracted the patriot ships to the same point.

A Spanish brig, with every sail set, was observed to leeward. It afterwards appeared that the viceroy, with about sixty persons of his court, were on board. They had embarked for a trip of pleasure in the bay, and if Lord Cochrane had known the circumstance, all might have been taken; but the admiral, determined to attack the vessels at anchor, paid no attention to the brig, little suspecting that the principal military and civil personages of Lima were on board. The O'Higgins, followed by the Lautaro, stood direct for the Spanish shipping. On nearing them, the

wind unfortunately decreased so much, that it was not considered adviseable or even practicable to lay the O'Higgins and Lautaro alongside, as intended, but the former came to an anchor at the distance of a thousand yards, with springs on her cable. The Spaniards paid no respect to the colours of the United States, which were kept flying, but opened a tremendous fire, which was briskly returned for about an hour, during which time a thick fog occasionally hid the combatants from a view of each other; which circumstance may account for the trifling damage sustained by the O'Higgins from the fire of upwards of two hundred pieces of ordnance. Very few men were killed or wounded, but the running rigging was much cut, and the boom shot away. Captain Guise was dangerously wounded in the early part of the action. His first lieutenant managed so badly that the Lautaro sheered off, and did not come within range again. The San Martin and Chacabuco lagged astern for want of wind, and never got under fire. In the evening the patriot vessels anchored under the lee of the island of San Lorenzo. The ship's company of the O'Higgins, Chilenos as well as foreigners, behaved exceedingly well. A fine example of skill and bravery was before their eyes in the person of Lord Cochrane, who is never seen to such shining advantage as in the heat of battle. He is remarkable for the quickness with which he can discern a shot coming, and the accuracy with which he can tell its direction.

In a subsequent affair at the same place, he was sitting astride upon the hammocks according to his usual custom. Major Miller was standing on a car-

ronade upon the quarter-deck, close to the admiral, who said, "There comes a shot straight for us, but don't move, for it will strike below us;" and it entered just underneath, at the lower part of the port, above which both had placed themselves. The shot struck off the head of a marine who had dodged to avoid it, and wounded four seamen. One, named José de San Martin, had been the chieftain of banditti in Chile, and had been sent on board from the condemned cell. His leg was carried away, and the bone shattered so much that he afterwards suffered amputation above the knee, which he bore with astonishing fortitude, exclaiming "*Viva la patria!*" repeatedly during the operation*.

Tom Cochrane, a son of the admiral, only ten years of age, was walking about on the quarter-deck, when the shot scattered the brains of the marine in the child's face. He ran up to his father, and, with an air of hereditary self-possession and unconcern, called out, "Indeed, papa, the shot did not touch me; indeed I am not hurt."

On the 2d of March, Captain Forster and Major Miller took possession of the barren island of San Lorenzo, about fifteen miles in circumference, situated in the bay of Callao. The highest point is about six hundred feet above the level of the sea, and commands a fine view of the domes of Lima, situated in a plain six miles from the shore, and precisely the same height above the ocean as the top of San Lo-

* In February, 1824, General Miller met the same man, begging alms *on horseback* in the streets of Santiago. Upon asking if he received a pension from government, he answered with gayety, that he obtained so much in charity that he never thought it worth while to apply for a pension.

renzo. The city appeared to be immediately at the foot of the majestic Andes, and was a picturesque object.

Lord Cochrane finding his original plan of attack impracticable with his slender means, resolved to fit out fire-ships. A laboratory was formed upon San Lorenzo, under the superintendence of Major Miller. On the 19th of March, an accidental explosion took place, which scorched the major and ten men in a dreadful manner. The former lost the nails from both hands, and the injury was so severe that his face was swelled to twice its natural dimensions. Scarcely a feature was discernible, and he was fed through a sort of plaster mask. He was blind and delirious for some days, and was confined to his cabin for six weeks. His fellow-sufferers on the occasion evinced an extraordinary and heroic degree of attachment to his person; for in the midst of their sufferings they refused to have their own burns dressed until they were assured by the surgeon that their officer had been attended to.

At 10 P. M. on the 22nd of March the squadron got under weigh. The O'Higgins stood close in, and received a heavy fire from the forts and shipping. The explosion-vessel unfortunately grounded within musket-shot of them, knocked a hole in her bottom, and filled*. This circumstance, together with the wind dying away, and the Lautaro and San Martin keeping far astern, induced his lordship to relinquish the attack for that night. The squadron

* On the following day the viceroy promoted some officers employed in the batteries, for *having sunk the explosion vessel.*

therefore returned to its anchorage, leaving the explosion-vessel to go to pieces.

At day-break on the 25th, the Spanish gun-boats and some armed launches came out, and, under cover of a thick fog, approached within pistol-shot, but did not attempt to board. The O'Higgins gave some well directed broadsides, and, a breeze springing up at the end of an hour's firing, she got under weigh, the gun-boats made their escape with some difficulty, and took refuge under their batteries.

Want of water and provisions compelled the ships to go to Huacho. The Chacabuco was left at San Lorenzo to cruise off and on. The people of Huacho assisted the watering party; for which two were afterwards shot, and others severely punished, by the royalist Colonel Cevallos. A party of marines and some seamen, under the orders of Captain Forster, marched to Haura, and the garrison of the town was soon put to flight. The governor had a few hours before sent an impertinent letter of defiance to the admiral.

On the 1st of April, Rear-Admiral Blanco in the Galvarino, of twenty-two guns, and the Puyrredon, of sixteen guns, arrived at Huacho. Blanco shifted his flag to the San Martin. The O'Higgins and Galvarino sailed to Supe, where a party of marines landed on the fifth, and took seventy thousand dollars, Spanish property, going from Lima to be embarked at the port of Guambacho. The squadron touched at Guarmey, where sixty thousand dollars, Spanish property, were taken from the French brig Griselle.

On the 13th, the squadron arrived in the port of Payta, called "little Jamaica" when a thieving trade

was carried on with the West Indies across the Isthmus of Panama, and when it was the grand entrepôt for contraband. It is situated on a noble bay, but the town is eight or nine miles from the nearest drop of fresh water, which, brought in barrels on the backs of asses, is sold at about ninepence the load in the morning market. It is fourteen leagues from Piura, the first that Pizarro founded in Peru, and of which Payta is the port. The best mules of Peru come from Piura. Payta contained four thousand inhabitants, who deserted the town, when the garrison of one hundred men fled, on Captain Forster landing with one hundred and twenty men, and the place was given up to plunder. A schooner taken in the bay was loaded with captured ordnance, cocoa, and spirits.

On the 5th of May, the O'Higgins sailed for its former cruising ground off Callao. Having reconnoitred, she proceeded to leeward again, and on the 8th arrived off Supe. An attempt made to land the marines failed, on account of a heavy surf; but a second effort, after dark, succeeded. Captain Forster disembarked with some seamen, and was the senior officer. The detachment advanced to an estate called *El Conventillo*, where it arrived at dawn of day. While the troops were dispersed at breakfast, they were attacked by thirty-six cavalry and forty infantry of the Spaniards, who sprang up from an ambuscade. The marines under Major Miller formed quickly, and soon put the royalists to flight, killing and wounding several, and taking some prisoners, with a stand of colours and some arms.

On the 13th, three hundred of the enemy advanced

upon the marines; but the latter having taken up a good position, the royalists declined attacking them. Having embarked one hundred and fifty slaves, some sugar, and a few oxen from the estate of Don Manuel Garcia, a royalist, the marines withdrew, and the squadron sailed to the southward. Major (afterwards General) Garcia Camba, who commanded the royalist detachment sent from Lima, and who did not venture to attack the patriots, wrote such a bombastic despatch to the viceroy about driving his enemies into the sea, that he was immediately promoted. The only trophies which fell into the power of Camba were five great-coats left behind through negligence *.

At Huarmey, the marines landed, and took off a quantity of saltpetre. Young Vidal, who had emigrated from Lima, and attached himself to the squadron, acted as a volunteer, and here first diplayed that prowess for which he became remarkable. Having strayed to some distance from the party on shore, he was suddenly attacked by two royalist dragoons. After a short conflict one fled, and the other was wounded and taken prisoner by Vidal, then not seventeen years of age, who also received a sabre wound on the head. The marines landed again at Guambacho to protect a party sent for water; the procuring of which along the coast is generally a work of time and labour, on account of the difficulty of getting barrels afloat through the tremendous surf, for which purpose *balsas* are often used. They are of several

* General Garcia Camba was notorious for the virulence of his writings, and for being the suggester of cruel measures. But when he became a prisoner at Ayacucho his manner formed a striking contrast with his previous haughtiness. With trembling anxiety, he sought out General La Mar, and cringed to the chief, who had been one of those most abused by his malignant pen.

kinds. The largest sort is formed of seven or nine trunks of trees lashed together, then three or four cross-pieces, and then a second flooring of the same number of logs as the bottom tier. These rafts are run aground, and the surf, in moderate weather, does not break over the upper tier so as to spoil goods or to wet passengers. A pole is stuck up in the middle, to which a sail is rigged. The rudder is a plank run into the water betwen the logs, rather abaft the centre. The whole is so unwieldy that wind and tide must be in its favour to work it with effect. When these rafts are wanted to windward they are taken to pieces, the logs carried the proper distance by land, and then put together at low water. In this way merchant-vessels are commonly unloaded on many parts of the coast. In some places a long bundle of rushes, tapering at each extremity, is used, particularly by fishermen, who seat themselves astride and paddle through the swell.

Near Guambacho are the remains of an extensive line of fortification, constructed previous to the conquest. The wall in many parts is still entire, and has salient angles, somewhat resembling rude bastions. The wall runs along the side of a lofty mountain, close to the sea. A great battle was gained here by the Inca over Chimu, the last king of the province now called Truxillo. An immense quantity of human bones are scattered over the ground. Some of the skulls retain all the hair. The *guacas* or *tumuli* scattered over Peru are ransacked for the sake of the gold and silver ornaments sometimes found placed in the mouth, ears, under the nape of the neck, and on

the navel. Earthen jars, of curious shape and workmanship, are often dug up, together with household utensils, wearing apparel, and grains of Indian corn, which last have been known to vegetate on being sown in an irrigated spot, after lying in the desert above three hundred years. The jars were filled with *chicha*, all supposed to be needful to the deceased: the quantity or value of the supply being proportioned to his rank in life.

Phosphoric exhalations are seen sometimes as large as the flame of a bonfire. This is considered by the country people an indication that gold is to be found, and they fall to work to ransack the tumulus, which had probably been pillaged twenty times before.

The squadron having completed the watering, and taken in sea stock, sailed to windward, and cast anchor in the bay of Valparaiso on the 17th of June, 1819.

Rear-Admiral Blanco, in the San Martin, together with the Lautaro, had previously arrived, having been obliged to raise the blockade of Callao for want of provisions. For this Blanco incurred the displeasure of government. He was put under an arrest, but honourably acquitted by a court of inquiry.

To avoid an interruption in the narrative, we have deferred until now the mention that a Spanish sergeant and ten men were taken on the island of San Lorenzo. They formed the guard over thirty-seven unfortunate patriot soldiers, who had been made prisoners of war at the battles of Ayoma and Huaqui in 1811. The prisoners were loaded with chains like convicts, and kept to hard labour in the stone quarries of

the island. At night they were linked by one leg to an iron bar under a miserable shed, scarcely roomy enough to lodge them. The poor fellows were overpowered with joy upon finding themselves unexpectedly set free, and once more under the protection of the patriot flag. Their unshaken fidelity had drawn down the barbarous treatment, which had been fatal to the greater part of their companions in misfortune. Lord Cochrane carried to Chile the shackles found upon the persons of these unfortunate soldiers, whose fate gave rise to a very spirited correspondence between his lordship and the viceroy, relative to the maltreatment of patriot prisoners of war.

His excellency answered in courteous terms, but he denied that the patriot prisoners were treated ill, and he declined to exchange those taken in the privateer (Maypo brig), after a very severe action with a superior force, on the plea that they were pirates. The surviving officers of the Maypo were kept in irons for sixteen months, and the fetters round their ankles laid the bones bare. The commander, Captain Brown, had the sentence of death hanging over him for above a year, when, by the assistance of Alomi, a corporal of the guard, he escaped, and took refuge on board H. M. S. Tyne. Captain Falcon refused to give him up to the viceroy, who, in an angry and voluminous correspondence, proved by precedents commencing in the year of our Lord 1499, and ending Anno Domini 1808, that the British commander had outstepped the boundaries marked out by international law. But Captain Falcon, more alive to the dictates of a humane mind, took upon himself

the responsibility of rescuing a brave countryman, exposed to a lingering if not a violent death in a horrid dungeon *.

The corporal, Alomi, had been an officer in the patriot service. Falling a prisoner in Colombia, he was compelled to serve in the Numancia, and intended to pass over to the patriot standard; but the officer of the watch did not consider himself justified in extending protection to a Peruvian subject, and he was not received on board the Tyne. He was taken by the royalists, and condemned to be shot; and it speaks much for the humanity of the viceroy's personal character that the sentence was not carried into execution.

* Amongst the prisoners confined in the casemates of Callao was the amiable, the gallant, and unfortunate Captain Esmonde, brother to Sir Thomas Esmonde, Baronet. (See Appendix D.)

CHAPTER X.

Balcarce.—Concepcion.—Benavides.—His barbarities.—Araucanian Indians.—Chileno squadron sails.—Unsuccessful against Callao.—Sails to Pisco.—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles killed.—His character.—Major Miller wounded.—Squadron sails to Guayaquil.—Returns.

GENERAL OSORIO having escaped from Maipo to Talcahuano, remained there until September following, when, blinded by his fears, he destroyed the fortifications and sailed for Callao. General Sanchez, then in the interior, was left in command of the province of Concepcion.

Early in 1819, General Balcarce with three thousand patriot troops marched against Sanchez, who had augmented his force to two thousand men. The royalists were driven with loss from the island of Laja, and from Nacimiento, both of which places were rudely fortified.

The ancient city of Concepcion, or Penco, was pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river Bio-Bio, and contained a population of above thirty thousand souls, but was overthrown by an earthquake. The new town, built upon nearly the same site, had been ruined by the alternate occupation of royalists, patriots, and Araucanian Indians. The country around is also subject to the incursions of the latter people, whose custom is to massacre all males and to carry off all females. Several hundred women were in captivity at the time now referred to.

Upon the advance of the independents, General Sanchez collected his forces from Concepcion, Chillan, and Laja, and fell back upon the Araucanian territory. He had already gained over several caciques, and had the address to obtain the unprecedented favour of permission to march with Spanish troops through Arauco to Valdivia, about sixty leagues to the southward of Talcahuano.

In crossing the Bio-Bio, Sanchez was overtaken by Balcarce, and after losing six hundred men in an unsuccessful stand, the royalists were compelled to make a precipitate flight. Lieutenant-Colonels Viel and Don M. Escalada, and Major Caxaravilla signalized themselves greatly about this period. Balcarce * returned to Santiago, leaving Colonel Freyre in the military and civil command of the province of Concepcion.

The persevering royalist General Sanchez reached Valdivia with about nine hundred followers, but not without great difficulties, for the caciques on the line of march extorted presents, and it cost much to preserve harmony. In the same way the soldiers parted with every small article of metal, and arrived at Valdivia without a button on their clothes.

In order to keep alive a hostile feeling towards the patriots, the celebrated leader Benavides was, with a few desperado volunteers, left amongst the Araucanian tribes. These destructive bands of freebooters, strengthened by numbers of deserters from the independents, became so formidable that Colonel Freyre, with two

* Don Antonio de Balcarce had served with credit in Spain. He was taken prisoner by the British at Monte Video in 1807. He was amongst the first to embrace the cause of independence, and gained for Buenos Ayres her first laurels at Cotagaita. He died on the 15th of August, 1819. He was an active, upright, and zealous patriot.

thousand men, was scarcely able to keep them in check. Several strong patriot parties crossed the Bio-Bio, to extirpate the depredators, but after some fighting, and considerable loss, always returned without having effected their object.

The acts of barbarity committed by Benavides are almost incredible. Captain Quitospi, a Russian officer in the patriot service, Colonel O'Carrol, who had served in Spain, Lieutenant Bayly, with many other officers, were wounded and taken in action at different periods, and, amongst other horrid mutilations, had their tongues cut out. General Don Andres Alcazar, who bore the character of extraordinary virtue and bravery, and who from his advanced age was considered to be the patriarch of the province, fell into the hands of the Indians, and suffered similar mutilations. Such were the effects of revengeful recollections; for the Araucanians had not forgotten the impalings of their ancestors, and the cruel wrongs done them by the Spaniards in their vain attempts for three hundred years to subjugate them. These feelings were continually excited by their traditions and their war songs, which record the victories their forefathers obtained over the barbarous whites. They cared not on which side they fought, provided they were instrumental to the destruction of either, as they considered both parties natural enemies. Perhaps Benavides himself is indebted for a part of his popularity with the Indians to his hatred of the very Spaniards he served, as evinced by his shooting or hanging, under different pretexts, every respectable Spanish officer sent from Valdivia to assist him.

Three months were busily employed by Lord Cochrane in the manufacture of rockets, and making other preparations for a renewed attack upon the shipping under the walls of Callao.

On the 12th of September, 1819, the undermentioned men-of-war sailed from Valparaiso:

	Guns.	
O'Higgins	48	Vice-Admiral Lord Cochrane.
San Martin	60	Rear-Admiral Blanco. / Captain Wilkinson.
Lautaro	46	Captain Guise.
Independencia	28	Forster.
Puyrredon	14	Prunier.
Vitoria and Xerezana to be fitted up as fire-ships		
Galvarino	18	Captain Spry } joined
Araucano	16	Crosbie } afterwards.

Four hundred soldiers were embarked to act as marines. The proportion distributed in the Chileno vessels was above double the usual complement of marines employed in ships of the same class in the British navy. The Chileno soldiers so embarked did the duty of seamen as well as of marines. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles, who had the superintendence of the rocket department, was the commanding officer. Major Miller reimbarked as second in command of the troops.

On the 25th September, the squadron entered the bay of Coquimbo, and received some marines on board. Coquimbo is the principal city of the province of the same name, which is fertile, and contains rich copper mines. The town is situated twenty miles from the port, and contains a population of ten thousand souls. It is remarkable for the salubrity of its climate, and

for the hospitality of its inhabitants, who, with a few foreign merchants, showed how highly they appreciated the services of the marines, by raising in a few hours a subscription of four hundred dollars, to be laid out by Major Miller in the purchase of what they stood most in need of. On the 17th, the squadron sailed for Callao. On the 28th, the respective captains repaired on board the flag-ship, to learn the plan of attack.

The O'Higgins was to lead; the San Martin and Lautaro were to follow; and all three were to anchor in a line parallel with the enemy's shipping. Major Miller, on a raft with one mortar, was to take his station in advance on the extreme left, towards Boca Negra, the mouth of the Rimac. Captain Hind, on a raft with rockets, was to place himself between the mortar raft and the O'Higgins. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles, on another raft, with rockets, was to place himself on the right of the Lautaro. The Galvarino and Araucano, with the two fire-ships, were to anchor off the N. E. point of San Lorenzo. The brigs were to weigh anchor on the attack commencing, and, with the Independencia, to remove to the outside of the patriot line, in order to be in readiness to intercept any vessels which might attempt to escape.

On the 30th, the squadron stood into the bay of Callao. The O'Higgins hoisted a flag of truce, and Lord Cochrane sent a boat ashore with a letter to the viceroy, challenging him to send out as many ships as he chose, and the admiral would fight them ship for ship, and gun for gun. This proposal, of very questionable propriety, met with the laconic negative

which might have been expected. The equally useless measure of sending a rocket in the boat to exhibit to the royalists made an impression different from what was intended.

The squadron manœuvred for several hours in the bay, and then came to anchor off San Lorenzo, with the exception of the Independencia, which continued to cruise off the bay.

On the first and following day of October the rafts were put together. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles reconnoitred in a boat, and tried some rockets, which were not found to answer expectation.

A partial attack took place on the night of the 2d. The Galvarino led the van, towing Major Miller's mortar-raft, and, under a heavy fire, placed it within eight hundred yards of the enemy's batteries. The Puyrredon followed with the shells and magazine upon another raft. The Araucano, having Captain Hind's rocket-raft in tow, followed next. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles, in the last raft, was towed by the Independencia. The rest of the squadron remained at anchor.

The persons employed upon the rafts were provided with life-preservers made of tin, in the shape of the front-piece of a cuirass, and filled with air. The rafts were formed of two tiers of large logs of timber, of the dimensions of sleepers used in laying down platforms in batteries. The upper tier was about a foot above the surface of the water. Not more than one rocket in six went off properly. Some burst, from the badness of the cylinders; some took a wrong direction, in consequence of the sticks being made of knotty wood; and most of them fell short. The shells sunk

a gun-boat, and did some execution in the forts and amongst the shipping; but the lashings of the mortar-bed gave way, and it was with difficulty that the logs of which the raft was composed were kept together. A great deal of time was lost in repairing the defective state of the fastenings. Day-light began to appear, and the rockets having completely failed, the rafts were ordered to retire, and were towed off by boats left in attendance for that purpose, to their respective protecting vessels, which again took them in charge and towed them out of range. Thus failed an attack from which so much had been expected. The disappointment was extreme; but the loss of only about twenty in killed and wounded was considered small under such a heavy fire. About forty shot struck the Galvarino. Red-hot shot were fired from the batteries, but without much effect.

All the men employed were volunteers; yet such was the effect of the heavy fire, that one man jumped from a raft into the water two or three times from fear. Lieutenant Bayley, a very brave young man, and a most active officer, was cut in two by a twenty-four-pounder shot, which also took off the head of a marine, on the mortar-raft. Twelve men were much burnt by the bursting of some rockets. Captain Hind and several of the men were thrown into the water, but were prevented from sinking by the life-preservers. In the night of the 4th, much amusement was excited in the patriot squadron by the alarm on shore caused by a tar barrel being set on fire and carried by the tide towards the Spanish shipping.

A tremendous fire opened upon it, which was kept up for above an hour.

Disappointed by the total failure of the rocket attack, the admiral determined to try what could be done by means of fire-ships. Accordingly one of the explosion-vessels being completed, Lieutenant Morgell and a few men got her under weigh at eight P. M. on the 5th, and stood, in gallant style, towards the Spanish shipping; but the wind dying away, the vessel was shot through and through like a sieve. The water gaining fast, the train was fired, and the vessel abandoned. She exploded at too great a distance from the shipping to do any serious mischief. The rocket-raft was again employed; but the rockets did as little execution as on the previous occasion. The other fire-ship, in charge of Lieutenant Cobbett *, was kept in reserve for a future service.

The Araucano, which had been sent on the fourth to cruise outside of the bay, returned on the 6th, and reported that she had seen a strange sail six miles to windward off Chorillos, which Captain Crosbie had no doubt was a frigate. The squadron got under weigh, and soon caught sight of the stranger; but Lord Cochrane, mistaking her for a North American whaler, returned to his former anchorage on the 7th. It was afterwards ascertained that the strange ship was the Prueba, Spanish frigate, of fifty guns, from

* This officer, who served with enthusiasm and distinction in the cause of independence, was unfortunately lost, with all his crew, in the frigate O'Higgins, which he commanded, and which is supposed to have foundered off Cape Horn, on her way from Valparaiso to the river Plata, in 1826.

Cadiz, bound to Lima; but seeing the patriot squadron, she made off and escaped to Guayaquil. In the almost momentary absence of the blockading squadron, a Spanish ship, with a cargo valued at half a million of dollars, entered Callao in safety.

The admiral, considering that the Spanish shipping could not be destroyed without risking the existence of the patriot squadron, decided upon a different plan of operations. On the evening of the 7th October, the squadron sailed, with the intention of going to Arica; but some of the ships were such dull sailers, that, after beating for three weeks to windward, and against the current, Lord Cochrane determined upon landing the marines at Pisco, for the purpose of procuring brandy for the use of the squadron. Three hundred and fifty soldiers were distributed on board the Lautaro, Galvarino, and a transport (late fire-ship). Lord Cochrane then proceeded to the northward with the O'Higgins, San Martin, Araucano and Puyrredon, leaving Captain Guise in command to proceed to Pisco.

Pisco is situated a mile from the sea-shore, on the spacious bay of Pararca, and is fourteen leagues to the northward and westward of the town of Ica. It is the great entrepôt for the brandy (called Pisco) distilled in great quantities from the grape in the valleys of Palpa, Nasca, Chincha, Cañete, and Ica. Sugar is another article of export. The town contains a population of nearly two thousand souls; the adjoining valley of Chunchanga five thousand, two-thirds of whom are negro slaves.

It was known that a strong detachment of regular troops had been stationed in Pisco, at the request of the royalist merchants and landowners, to protect their property in depôt there. The patriots intended to land in the night and take the garrison by surprise; but the wind failing, the ships could not get near enough to disembark the troops until broad day-light, on the 7th November, 1819. On landing, information was given that the Spanish garrison amounted to one thousand men. It might therefore have been prudent for the patriots to have reimbarked, especially as two-thirds of the marines were mere recruits, who had not even been taught the platoon exercise; but the remembrance of the disappointments before Callao produced an unanimous desire to attack.

The Spanish force, consisting of six hundred infantry, one hundred and sixty cavalry, and four field-pieces, under the command of Lieutenant-General Gonzalez, were drawn up to receive the assailants. The field-artillery, supported by their cavalry, occupied on their left a piece of rising ground, which commanded the entrance of the town, in the square of which their infantry was formed. Their right was strengthened by a fort on the sea-shore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles, with twenty-five men, filed off to his right to reconnoitre the enemy's left, whilst Major Miller pushed on to the town with the rest of the marines. Captain Hind, with a rocket party, composed of seamen, occupied the attention of the fort. The Spaniards kept up a brisk fire from the field-pieces, and from the artillery in the fort, as well as from the infantry posted behind walls, on the tops

of houses, and on the tower of the church. Not a musket was fired, or a word spoken in the patriot column, which marched with the coolness and steadiness of veterans, in spite of the loss it sustained at every step. The silence, rapidity, and good order with which they advanced struck a panic into the Spaniards, who fled when the patriots approached within fifteen yards of their bayonets. The royalists were completely routed. The gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Charles was mortally wounded whilst charging four times his own numbers outside the town. The last volley of the Spaniards in the square brought down Major Miller *. They were conveyed on board the Lautaro. The two friends, both apparently on the brink of the grave, took leave of each other in the most affectionate manner, as Charles was conveyed aft through the fore cabin, in which Miller was already placed by the kindness of Captain Guise. In a few hours Charles expired. Cool and collected to the last moment, the manner in which he died would have done honour to any hero of ancient or modern times. He was brave and talented; and his gentleness and suavity of manners had acquired for him universal love and respect †.

* A musket-ball wounded him in the right arm, another permanently disabled his left hand. A third ball entered his chest, and, fracturing a rib, passed out at the back. For four days the surgeons considered it impossible for him to survive, and for the next seventeen, slender hopes were entertained of his recovery.

† Charles was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Having obtained a lieutenancy in the royal regiment, he went out to Portugal in the year 1808 with a detachment of artillery, appointed to serve with the *Lusitanian Legion*, then raising under the orders of Sir Robert Wilson, who, perceiving the excellent qualities of Charles, appointed him his aide-de-camp; and throughout the service in the Peninsula he distinguished himself on every occasion by his talents, activity, and intrepidity. When Sir Robert Wilson was sent to Constantinople to assist in the negotiations for peace between the Turks and Russians, Charles was again

Captain Sowersby *, who succeeded to the command of the marines, remained on shore for four days unmolested, in which time all that was required for the ships was embarked. Two hundred thousand dollars' worth of brandy, lying upon the beach, was wantonly destroyed by a party of seamen.

Amongst the officers who distinguished themselves, besides those already mentioned, were Captain Don Manuel Urquisa (severely wounded), a Buenos Ayrean; Captain Guitica, a German; Lieutenant Rivera, a Chileno; Lieutenant Carson, a North American; and Monsieur Soyer, a Frenchman (purser of the Lautaro), who acted as a volunteer †.

On the 16th, the Lautaro and her consort, with the transport, joined Lord Cochrane off Santa, in south lat. 8° 48″. Ensign Vidal, who had remained on board the admiral's ship with the marines not employed at Pisco, had taken possession of Santa, after defeating three times his own number of Spaniards.

The whole squadron having procured water and provisions, now put to sea. On the 21st, the O'Higgins, Lautaro, Galvarino, and Puyrredon stood to the northward. A sort of brain fever, called the *chavalongo* broke out, and carried off five or six men daily. The San Martin and Independencia, being in the most

put on his staff, but his junction with Sir Robert was delayed till that general had been appointed as military commissioner with the Russian army. Charles, during the whole of the campaign in Germany and in Italy, continued to do the duty of aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Wilson, and gained the affection and esteem of the allied commanders. The sovereigns particularly distinguished him, conferring on him the Cross of St. George of Russia, of Merit of Prussia, and of Maria Theresa of Austria. There never perhaps was an officer, serving in foreign armies, who was more universally a favourite, and who displayed qualities which more entitled him, professionally and personally, to estimation.

* Killed at the battle of Junin.

† No despatch of the affair of Pisco was ever published.

sickly state, were ordered to make the best of their way to Valparaiso. Rear-Admiral Blanco went on board the Lautaro to offer Major Miller a passage to Chile; but, in his then precarious condition, it was considered dangerous to attempt to remove him.

On the 27th November, Lord Cochrane entered the river Guayaquil, and, notwithstanding the danger of the navigation, on account of shifting sand-banks, he continued to crowd all sail during the night, and he captured next morning, before the crews had time to run them ashore, two ships, the Aguila and Begoña, of eight hundred tons and twenty-eight guns each, laden with planks. The Spanish frigate Prueba, which so narrowly escaped from Callao, had been hauled up the river five days before, and, being lightened of her guns, was moored in shallow water, under the protection of the batteries.

On the 30th, sixty marines, under the command of Lieutenant Carson, were landed to procure fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit, with which the country abounds. The fruit, particularly the pine-apple, is delicious. The banks of the river are flat, swampy, and covered with wood; the river swarms with alligators; the climate is intolerably hot; the earth teems with reptiles, and the air with insects. The mosquitoes are so numerous that it is said they sometimes extinguish a candle. The houses are built upon piles, so that the lower floor is elevated a few feet above the ground.

On the 13th December, Major Miller was removed in his cot from the Lautaro to the flag-ship, the

O'Higgins, which sailed from the river with the Lautaro and the two prizes in company. Each ship was ordered to make the best of her way to Valparaiso. The Galvarino and Puyrredon were left behind to cruise.

CHAPTER XI.

The O'Higgins makes Valdivia.—Captures the brig of war Potrillo.—Interesting meeting.—Concepcion.—Reinforcement.—The O'Higgins strikes on a rock.—Dismay on board.—Lord Cochrane's *sang froid*.—Valdivia taken.

LORD COCHRANE having made the wide offing necessary in sailing upon these coasts from north to south, and finding himself in 110° west longitude, about equidistant from Valdivia and Valparaiso, decided upon looking into the former port.

On the 18th January, 1820, he approached under Spanish colours. On this occasion, Major Miller was brought upon deck for the first time since receiving his wounds at Pisco, eleven weeks before. A signal was made for a pilot, who, with an officer of the garrison and four soldiers to row the boat, was sent from the shore to point out a safe anchorage. They were of course detained, and some useful information procured.

Whilst the O'Higgins was standing close in to reconnoitre, a strange sail hove in sight, and after three hours chase, the Spanish brig of war Potrillo, of sixteen guns, became an unresisting prize. She was two days from Chiloe, bound to Valdivia with despatches, and twenty thousand dollars for the payment of the garrison.

One of those highly interesting meetings which rarely occur now took place. The admiral's secretary

Captain Benet, who by some chance had been left in the Araucanian territory seventeen years before, recognised amongst the prisoners a whole family, named Reyes, the heads of which had rescued him from the Araucanians, and adopted him. He was treated as a son, and remained with them until the jealous policy of the Spanish colonial system compelled the governor of Concepcion to send him to Lima, on account of his being a British subject; so that, after an interval of sixteen years, accident again brought them together. The parental and filial ardour with which they rushed into each other's arms at the moment of mutual recognition excited the sympathy of every witness to the affecting scene. The secretary had the additional gratification of finding himself in a situation that enabled him to repay, in some measure, the kindnesses he had experienced when, as a youth and a prisoner, he was in need of protection.

On entering the bay of Talcahuano, in the night of the 20th January, the O'Higgins grounded on a bank near the island of Quiriquina, but soon got off. She unexpectedly found the brig Intrepido, Captain Carter, and the schooner Montezuma at anchor there. Major Miller went ashore, and rode to Concepcion, but was too weak either to get on horseback or to dismount without assistance. The next morning Lord Cochrane rode to the city, and was received a league in advance by the governor, Colonel Freyre, who gave a dinner on the occasion. About forty persons sat down, and, to exemplify the hospitality of the country, it may be worth while to mention that enough was brought upon table to feed six hundred men.

Major Miller crossed the river Bio Bio to inspect the fort of San Pedro, which mounted four nine-pounders, surrounded by a ditch, palisades, and a musket-proof casemate round the ramparts. It was garrisoned by fifty men, who were so often attacked by the Araucanians that they invariably slept upon their arms. The bridge was kept drawn up night and day, because there was not a moment in the year in which the Indians were not lying in ambush near it. The Araucanians had attacked this fort two days before, and were repulsed, after losing their leader, a brother of Benavides. The garrison, notwithstanding their success, could not venture to make a sortie; and the audacious Indians still kept possession of the adjoining heights.

Lord Cochrane having conceived the daring plan of carrying Valdivia by a coup-de-main, employed all his eloquence to induce Governor Freyre to grant a small reinforcement. The governor gave two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Major Beauchef. They embarked in the frigate O'Higgins, the Montezuma schooner, and the brig of war Intrepido belonging to Buenos Ayres. All got under weigh on the 25th January, at five P. M. with a light contrary wind; at night it fell calm. The officer of the watch, leaving the deck, gave the O'Higgins in charge to a midshipman, who, falling asleep, neglected to report when a breeze sprung up. Upon passing the island of Quiriquina the ship struck upon the sharp edge of a rock, and was suspended amidship on her keel. She shook in a manner to produce the greatest alarm; for had the swell increased she

must have gone to pieces. Lord Cochrane preserved his customary *sang froid;* ordered out the kedges; superintended every thing himself; and, at length, got the ship off. His skill and presence of mind on this trying occasion made a deep impression on all who beheld it. When the ship was out of danger, some of the officers suggested that she should be examined: a stern negative was the answer of the admiral, who, turning round to Miller, said, "Well, Major, Valdivia we must take. Sooner than put back, it would be better that we all went to the bottom." In fact, his lordship felt keenly his disappointments before Callao. He was aware that his enemies in Chile would raise a clamour if he returned without doing something decisive, and he had made up his mind to run every risk in order to grasp a redeeming laurel. "Cool calculation," he observed to Major Miller, "would make it appear that the attempt to take Valdivia is madness. This is one reason why the Spaniards will hardly believe us in earnest, even when we commence; and you will see that a bold onset, and a little perseverance afterwards, will give a complete triumph; for operations, unexpected by the enemy, are, when well executed, almost certain to succeed, whatever may be the odds, and success will preserve the enterprise from the imputation of rashness."

The officers participated in the same adventurous spirit, and hailed with eager satisfaction a determination likely to retrieve the credit of the navy and make former discomfitures forgotten. The admiral was so resolutely bent upon pursuing his course that

it was not until sunset on the 26th that he would receive the first report of "*five feet water in the hold.*" The ship was then thirty miles from land. The pumps were found to be so much out of order that they could not be worked. At eight o'clock seven feet was reported. The carpenter, who was a very indifferent mechanic, failed in his efforts to put the pumps in order. The water, though bailed out with buckets, still continued to gain upon them.

The powder magazine was inundated, and the ammunition of every description rendered totally unserviceable, excepting the cartridges in the cartouch boxes of the soldiers. Alarm and despair were depicted in the countenances of most on board. Lord Cochrane pulled off his coat, tucked up his shirt-sleeves, and succeeded by midnight in putting two of the pumps into a serviceable state. By his indefatigable activity and skill the frigate was prevented from sinking, and by the serenity and firmness of his conduct he checked a general disposition to abandon the ship.

Notwithstanding it was a dead calm, the swell was considerable, and the brig and schooner were out of sight. Of six hundred men on board the frigate, not more than one hundred and sixty could have escaped in the boats. The inhospitable coast of Arauco was forty miles distant, and to land there would have been worse than death. The vindictive character of the Araucanians was well known, and to those who saw no hope of keeping the ship afloat till morning, the alternative was terrific. The leak was happily prevented from gaining. The schooner and brig rejoined in the morning, and the vessels arrived in the latitude

of Valdivia on the 2d of February. When about thirty miles from land, the troops in the frigate were removed to the schooner Montezuma and brig Intrepido in a high sea. Lord Cochrane shifted his flag to the schooner, leaving the frigate to stand off and on, out of sight of land, to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Spaniards on shore. There was, however, so little wind, that all hopes of effecting a landing that night vanished. The brig and the schooner made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the royalists by surprise.

The noble harbour of Valdivia, situated in 39° 50′ south lat. and 73° 28′ west lon. forms a capacious basin, bordered by a lofty and impenetrable forest advancing to the water's edge. It is encircled by a chain of forts, which are so placed as not only to defend the entrance, but to enfilade every part of the harbour.

These forts are: Niebla on the east, and Amargos on the west, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-fourths of a mile in width. Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, and El Yngles, on the west side; Manzanera, on an island near the eastern extremity or bottom of the harbour; and El Piojo and Carbonero are on the east side. These different forts were mounted with one hundred and eighteen pieces of ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, each fort with a deep ditch and a rampart where they were not washed by the sea, excepting El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. They were manned by a force which, according to the muster rolls of the preceding month, consisted of seven hun-

dred and eighty regulars, and eight hundred and twenty-nine militia. The greater part of the latter were stationed at Osorno, thirty leagues towards the straits of Magellan, and the remainder at the town of Valdivia, fourteen miles up the river. So impervious is the forest, from the ravines by which it is intersected, and from its entangled underwood, that there is no land communication between the forts, excepting by a narrow rugged path, which, winding between the rocky beach and the forest, scarcely at any point admits of the passage of more than one man at a time. Even this path, in crossing a deep ravine between fort Chorocomayo and Corral, was enfiladed by three guns, situated on the crest of the opposite acclivity.

About a quarter of a mile beyond the fort of San Carlos, along the southern shore of the bay, and outside of the harbour, is situated the exterior fort of El Yngles, and half a mile westward of the fort is the *caleta*, or inlet which forms a landing-place, both of which communicate with each other, and with San Carlos, by a path equally narrow, rugged, and serpentine as that between the other forts.

The schooner and the brig, having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3d of February, at three P. M. under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the *caleta*, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, Captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed from Cadiz with the St. Elmo of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted in a gale of wind off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot

might be sent off. At this time the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell have subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore, to which it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This however did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at fort Yngles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the *caleta*. The rest, about three hundred, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort.

Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but at four o'clock one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel, unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, which, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one along the narrow and difficult path to the *caleta*. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from

below, and to land without further delay. But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared very inadequate to the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke, and impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others the coxswain was wounded, upon which Major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped on shore with his marines; dislodged the royalists at the inlet; and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party in the second launch pushed off from the brig, and in less than an hour three hundred and fifty patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset they advanced in single files along the rocky track, leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed, with deafening noise, upon the shore. This noise was rather favourable than otherwise to the adventurous party. The royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing-place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and

consequently the patriots found nobody on the *outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack; but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were soldiers, whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with firm but noiseless step, and while those who next followed cheered with cries of "*adelante!*" (onwards!) others still farther behind raised clamorous shouts of "*Viva la patria!*" and many of them fired in the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which on one side was washed by the sea, and on the other side flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musquetry; by the lashings of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vidal, crept under the inland flank of the fort, and whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed to the noisy patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened palisades, with which they constructed a rude scaling ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder Ensign Vidal and his party mounted the rampart; got unperceived into the fort; and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison were occupied in

firing upon those of the assailants still approaching in single files. A volley from Vidal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which, echoed by the reverberating valleys of the mountains around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of three hundred men, formed on an arena behind the fort, and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the castle of Corral, about one hundred men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdavia. The remainder, about two hundred men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advance of their pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart, which had crumbled down, and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The royalists could retreat no farther for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted, and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the patriots followed up their success, that the royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun.

Day-light of the 4th found the independents in possession of the five forts, El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral.

Amongst the prisoners taken in the castle of Corral was Colonel Hoyos, commanding the regiment of Cantabria, who, in an agony of mind, produced by reflecting on the loss of the forts, had drunk a quantity of rum, and, when Major Miller appeared, broke out in terms of outrageous abuse. It was with the utmost difficulty that the victorious soldiers could be restrained from killing the colonel. The next morning Hoyos said to Miller, "I thank you for having preserved my life; but, after what has happened, death would have been a mercy." He added, "It is singular I owe my life to you, whom I was in some measure instrumental in saving, by supporting the efforts of Loriga in your favour at Talcahuano." After the Fort el Yngles was carried, Lord Cochrane left the Montezuma, and caused himself to be rowed as near the scene of action as the surf would permit a boat to approach.

On the morning of the 4th, the schooner and brig entered the harbour, and anchored under the castle of Corral, after receiving a few shots from the forts on the northern side, still in the possession of the Spaniards. In order to dislodge them, two hundred men embarked in the brig and schooner: the latter ran aground in crossing the harbour, but soon got off again. The Spaniards, however, alarmed at the movement, abandoned the castle of Niebla, Fort Carbonero, Piojo, and Manzanera. The patriots,

not less surprised than pleased, found themselves, without further opposition, masters of what may be called the Gibraltar of South America. In the evening the O'Higgins entered the port almost water-logged, and, to keep her from sinking, she was run aground on a muddy bottom, for the purpose of undergoing a repair.

The following are extracts from Major Miller's official report to the admiral: "Having disembarked with little opposition, at the Aguada Yngles, on the N. W. shore of the bay, with the marines under my command, I continued my march, united to the detachment of infantry under the orders of Major Beauchef, to attack the enemy on that side. In his formidable position he considered himself perfectly secure from any attack that could be made; and, indeed, if due weight be given to the obstacles we had to contend with through narrow and almost impenetrable tracks, it is not surprising that such confidence should have existed on his part. But the valour and intrepidity of our officers and soldiers were irresistible, and the most complete success crowned, if not one of the most arduous undertakings ever attempted by such a handful of men, one at least that will add new laurels to the gallant sons of South America."

* * * * * *

"It is impossible for me to give your lordship an adequate idea of the valour and determined perseverance of our small but enthusiastic force. No veterans could have surpassed them: few could have done so much."

On the 5th, Majors Beauchef and Miller proceeded up the river with Lord Cochrane, who took possession of the town of Valdivia, at the head of two hundred of the troops. The enemy, five hundred in number, had abandoned it in the morning, and had fled towards Osorno to cross the water to Chiloe. On deserting the town, the Spaniards plundered and committed great disorders. The governor, Colonel Montoya, was the first to make his escape. His age and infirmities must have incapacitated him for command, or he ought to have made a stand against such an inferior force. The admiral issued a proclamation, which induced many of the inhabitants, who had fled from the town on the approach of the patriots, to return to their homes.

Amongst the public property taken at Valdivia, were some silver ornaments and vessels, of which General Sanchez had stripped the churches of Concepcion. This booty was valued at the time at from twelve to sixteen thousand dollars. There was, besides, a *custodio* inlaid with gold and set with gems. A ship, called the *Dolores,* anchored off the Corral, and taken by the soldiers in the night of the 3d, was sold by the prize agent at Valparaiso for about twenty thousand dollars. A quantity of sugar, spirits, and other articles were taken and disposed of in like manner, for nearly the same sum. The foregoing statement does not include a claim made by Lord Cochrane on account of captured ordnance. The *el dorado* views, however, founded on the capture of Valdivia, all fell to the ground. Neither Major Miller, nor any officer or soldier of his corps, ever received prize money on that account.

The town of Valdivia, on the left bank of the river, contained about fifteen hundred souls. The streets intersect each other at right angles. The houses are built of wood. The river is now navigable for boats only, but it is supposed that formerly large vessels anchored near to the town. Where the Dutch line-of-battle ships are said to have anchored in 1598 and 1603, there is now only six feet water. The river, like many others which empty themselves into the Pacific, is gradually filling up or becoming more shallow as time rolls on. The banks of the river are bold, and covered with majestic cedars, and other forest trees. The country is beautiful, and clothed in perpetual verdure, rains being frequent and heavy ten months out of the twelve. The soil is rich, and produces potatoes of a superior quality; apples are also very abundant. Great quantities of cider are made there. The Chilenos, accustomed to a serene sky, consider the climate of Valdivia as insupportably humid. It was a place of banishment for delinquents, who acquired the right of citizens after serving a given time, regulated by the nature of their offence.

Osorno is a colony settled some fifty years ago, by the father of General O'Higgins, and contains three thousand inhabitants. Its plains are extremely fertile, and the ground having been partially cleared of wood, produces wheat; and it rains less there than at Valdivia. The country is surrounded by Indians, who are occasionally troublesome. The Spanish governor granted pensions to certain caciques, and Lord Cochrane promised that their allowances should be doubled by the patriots.

CHAPTER XII.

Benavides.—His marvellous escape.—Unsuccessful attack upon Chiloe.—Gallantry of the patriot soldiers.—Major Miller wounded.—Fanaticism.—Major Beauchef.—Royalists in Osorno annihilated.—Santalla.—Captain Bobadilla.—Squadron arrives at Valparaiso.—Humane character of the Chilenos.—Misunderstanding between San Martin and the Buenos Ayrean government.—La Logia.—Colonel Martinez.—Battalion No. 8.—Preparations to liberate Peru.—Obstacles.—Royalist forces in Peru.

THE acquisition of Valdivia enabled General San Martin to bestow his undivided attention upon the liberation of Peru. It at the same time afforded a great advantage to the patriots, by dispossessing Spain of her best harbour and strongest hold in the Pacific, and by depriving the royalist ruffian Benavides of the dépôt, from which he drew the *matériel* to carry on his desolating inroads at the head of freebooters and Indians, over whom he, although an uneducated man, had obtained unbounded influence. That chieftain had become so formidable that, had he not been deprived of an important *point d'appui*, and of his usual resources, an expedition must have been fitted out, in order to preserve the southern provinces of Chile from his daring and bloody incursions. A small vessel fell into the hands of the patriots on taking the port, which was about to sail to Arauco with two or three officers, and four non-commissioned

officers, together with arms and ammunition for Benavides. There is something so extraordinary in the character and career of this desperado, that a short account of both may not be unseasonable.

Benavides was born in the province of Concepcion; and, together with his brother, had served in the Buenos Ayrean battalion, No. 11, the first as a sergeant, the second as a corporal. In 1814, both were sentenced to death for some crime, but escaped from their condemned cell, and passed over to the royalists, having, as was strongly supposed, set fire to the field dépôt, which was burnt on the night they absconded. Both were made prisoners of war at the battle of Maypo, but were not recognised until after the government of Chile had published a general pardon to all military offenders, in celebration of the victory. The Supreme Director could not then except the brothers from the amnesty; but he ordered them to be sent out of the country, as dangerous and enterprising criminals, and to be placed at the disposal of the government of the united provinces of La Plata. On the march, the commandant of the escort was informed by two of his soldiers that the men in custody had offered bribes to connive at their evasion. The officer stated that, upon charging them with this proceeding, the prisoners acknowledged the truth of the accusation; that seventeen doubloons and a dagger were found about the person of the elder brother. Upon which the officer, acting, as he said, in conformity to his instructions in the event of his prisoners' attempting to escape, ordered them to be shot, and they were executed accordingly.

On General San Martin's return from Mendoza to Santiago, a staunch patriot, nearly related to the wife of Benavides, apprised the general that the unfortunate man was still living, and that he felt an unconquerable desire to have an interview with his excellency, not only to communicate upon subjects of high importance, but also to manifest the sincerity of his wishes to re-attach himself to the cause of independence. He, however, stipulated for a guarantee in writing, and the concealment of the fact of his existence, particularly from the supreme director. These conditions were acceded to, and the first meeting took place at midnight, in the chapel porch of the *Conventillo*, a country-seat about a mile from Santiago.

The following is the account which Benavides himself gave of the transaction to General San Martin. He said that, upon leaving Santiago, neither he nor his brother entertained any suspicion they were to be executed on the road; that if they had apprehended any such design, it would have been easy for them to have absconded before they left the capital: but feeling satisfied on the score of personal safety, they postponed the attempt until a favourable opportunity should occur in the course of their march, and more particularly as they wished to avoid compromising their friends of the royalist party then resident at Santiago; that on the evening of the second day the officer of the escort ordered a halt for the brothers to be searched, and seventeen doubloons being found in the lining of the boots of the elder, the officer asked if they had attempted to bribe the soldiers, *which was*

answered in the negative; that the party then left the road, and having arrived at a lonely spot at nightfall, the officer ordered them (the two brothers) to prepare for instant death. They were made to kneel, with eyes unbound, and a volley was fired. Benavides received two balls, one of which passed through his right shoulder, the other through his left side. He fell, but, preserving his presence of mind, he feigned himself dead, in the hope of ultimately effecting his escape. The serjeant of the escort, as he supposed, drew his sword, and gave him a heavy cut across the throat *, saying at the same time, "Take that, villain, for the murder of my family!" The soldiers then threw a quantity of earth and stones over the two bodies, and withdrew. Benavides remained motionless for some minutes, when, finding that his executioners had finally left him, he immediately set to work to disengage himself from the load of earth with which he was encumbered; he then with great difficulty untied the cords with which he was bound, and having stripped off the jacket and shirt of his deceased brother, to bind up his own wounds, he quitted the fatal spot. He walked the greater part of the night, suffering acutely from the pain of his wounds, and from the still less supportable agonies of thirst. Having reached the hovel of a good old man and woman, they took pity upon him; and although poverty confined their means of cure to the constant washing of his wounds with water from a neighbouring rill, Benavides found himself sufficiently recovered, at the end of sixteen days, to creep unperceived into Santiago, where he remained concealed.

* Benavides carried his head awry ever afterwards.

General San Martin and Benavides had several subsequent meetings, which were held at night near the fountain in the great square of the city. Benavides revealed the names of those who were still inimical to the patriot cause, and also the means they employed to carry on their correspondence with the royalists, and to remit subscriptions to promote the restoration of the ancient order of things. He reiterated the offer of his services to the republic: they were accepted, and a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign in the south of Chile was determined upon. He was soon afterwards sent, in charge of an officer, who was kept in ignorance of the name of the person he escorted, to General Balcarce, at that time commanding the troops in the province of Concepcion, and who was minutely informed of the character and conduct of Benavides, and of the circumstances which rendered it expedient to place such a person upon his staff. Balcarce was instructed to observe the utmost circumspection in carrying into execution plans suggested by Benavides; and, taking care not to betray any signs of mistrust, to keep a watchful eye over that extraordinary man, whose local knowledge and prior connexions with the royalist chiefs, as well as his influence over the Araucanians, gave value and weight to his opinions, and rendered him a desirable instrument in the prosecution of the war. There can be no doubt that to his counsel was owing the conquest of the island of Lajas and of the fort Del Nacimiento, and the successful issue of that campaign. Indeed, General Balcarce distinctly attributed it to the advice of Benavides,

whose adhesion to the cause of the country became undoubted.

Unhappily General Balcarce imparted his secret to Colonel Freyre, governor of Concepcion, who, at a conference at which all three were present, had the indiscretion to tell Benavides, in a moment of warm discussion, that a man of his *species* was not to be trusted. Fired at the insult, the stern Benavides disappeared within eight-and-forty hours, and speedily commenced a desolating war with fire and sword, committing unheard-of barbarities upon the helpless and unoffending inhabitants *.

Lord Cochrane having made the necessary arrangements for the security of Valdivia, turned his views to other objects. His next attempt was to wrest the important island of Chiloe from the dominion of Spain. Although it was known to be defended by one thousand regulars, besides a hardy militia, yet the garrison was supposed to be in a discontented state, and it was hoped that a majority of it would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity of joining the patriot cause.

Chiloe is the largest of an archipelago of seventy-two islands, stretching along the dreary and inhospitable coast between the straits of Magellan and Valdivia. The navigation is very intricate and dangerous, on account of eddies, currents, and whirlpools; moreover, the tremendous surf of the Pacific Ocean

* Benavides remained with the Araucanians until, finding himself cut off from most of his followers, he embarked at the end of two years in an open launch, and sailed for Arica, intending to join the royalist party in Peru. Being in want of water on the passage, the launch put into a small cove near Valparaiso. One of his men betrayed him, and Benavides closed his career on the scaffold, at Santiago, on the 23d February, 1823.

breaking with fury on the iron-bound coast, renders it almost every where unapproachable. The temperature is moderate; the soil is generally rich, and the islands produce fine timber. Some species of larch, cleft into deals, is one of the few articles of export for the supply of the coasts of Chile and Peru. The humidity of the climate prevents the cultivation of wheat. The potatoes are perhaps the finest in the world. Chiloe abounds with swine, fed upon the abundant shell-fish. The hams are so highly esteemed that it may be called the Westphalia of the New World. The manufacture of *ponchos* is carried on to a considerable extent. The population is loosely estimated at thirty-four thousand. But, in point of civilization, the Chilotes are but one remove from the Araucanian Indians.

On the 10th of February, the Governor Quintanilla, an active officer, was apprised of Lord Cochrane's intention, and instantly made his arrangements for an obstinate defence. On the morning of the 17th the admiral approached the west point of the island, which forms the south side of the bay in which San Carlos, the seat of government, is situated, and at sunset anchored off a little inlet in the bay of Huechucucay. Sixty infantry and thirty cavalry, with a field-piece, were sent to dispute the landing; but their attention was divided between the real place of intended disembarkation, and another inlet farther up the bay, whither for that purpose a boat had been sent with a few rockets. Meanwhile Major Miller effected a landing; and the royalist detachment, divided into two parties, was put to flight,

and their field-piece abandoned. At eight P. M. the patriots, one hundred and seventy in number, advanced; but the night was so dark that no object could be distinguished at the distance of three paces. The surf ran very high, and broke upon the beach with a roar that drowned the voice of command. The guide soon lost his way, and, either through ignorance or treachery, could not or would not recover it. The party wandered about all night, making unavailing efforts. At dawn of day the track was again found, and the party moved on. Fort Corona, and a detached battery, were carried without loss. Having halted for an hour, the patriots pushed forward to storm the principal defence, Fort Aguy, which mounted twelve eighteen-pounders, and was raised on a commanding eminence, washed on one side by the sea, and having on the opposite side an impenetrable wood. The only access to the fort was by a narrow path on the beach, enfiladed by some pieces of ordnance, and flanked by two gun-boats anchored just out of musket range. The path forms a zigzag from the foot of the rising ground to the crest upon which the fort is situated. At each angle was a small parapet for infantry. The garrison of Aguy consisted of three companies of regulars, two companies of militia, and a proportion of artillerymen, in all about five hundred men*. Two friars upon the rampart were seen to excite them during the assault, each with a lance in one hand and a crucifix in the other. To the violence of those infuriated bigots might be advantageously contrasted the calm ad-

* According to a despatch from Quintanilla to the viceroy of Peru, published in a Lima Gazette.

vance of the patriots, whose courage seemed to increase with the increasing danger. The undaunted intrepidity with which they attacked deserved to have been crowned with success. But the garrison, having no track by which they could retreat, stood their ground; and, at the first onset, Major Miller and thirty-eight men out of sixty, composing the forlorn hope, were mowed down by a shower of grape and musketry. Twenty men were killed on the spot, and most of the others were mortally wounded. Captain Erescano, who succeeded to the command, perceiving the impossibility of accomplishing the desired object, very properly ordered a retreat, which he conducted with coolness and ability, carrying off the wounded. He spiked the guns in the fort and battery previously captured, broke up the platforms and carriages, and demolished the military stores. In making these retrograde movements over two leagues of ground, Erescano and the gallant Ensign Vidal repelled upon three occasions the attacks of numerous enemies, inflamed by bigotry and animated by success. At length they reached the landing place, and all that remained alive reimbarked. The marines not only showed on this occasion the conspicuous gallantry which distinguished them on every other, but also gave an additional proof of their affectionate fidelity towards Major Miller, their commander. Three of them, being the first to advance and last to retire, nobly refused to quit the field without carrying him off. They found him stretched upon the ground, a grape-shot having passed through the left thigh: the small bones of the right instep were crushed by a four-pounder shot, fired from a gun-boat, and which

might have broken the leg but for a rocket, which Major Miller held in his hand, and which changed the direction of the shot. He also received a flesh wound at the same moment. Under the hottest fire these faithful followers bore him to a place of comparative security. Two of the men were wounded in the act, but declared that they would sooner perish than leave him to fall into the hands of the enraged fanatics. Despotism has engrafted on the Chileno character many a vice; but who can deny that it retains the virtues belonging to the brave *?

The same evening the vessels made sail for the port of Valdivia, which they entered on the 19th. Major Beauchef, who had been left in command, had in the meantime marched with two hundred men in search of the royalist fugitives, whom the indignant Governor Quintanilla refused to admit into Chiloe. The Spaniard, Lieutenant-Colonel Santalla, remarkable for personal strength, cruelty, and cowardice, was therefore obliged to retrace his steps to Osorno, whither Major Beauchef went in pursuit of him. Under pretence of sickness, Santalla kept at a safe distance, and gave up the command to Captain Bobadilla; well named, for he was another *bragadoccio*, although, like his prudent companion in arms, of most imposing appearance. On coming up with them, Major Beauchef completely, and in a manner which reflects equal credit on his military skill and on his enthusiastic bravery, routed the royalists. Seventeen

* Roxas, a soldier of the marines, who had formerly served in Valdivia, and acted as guide on the night it was assaulted, bore Major Miller to a boat, and, when invited to follow, he answered, "No, sir; I was the first to land, and I mean to be the last to go on board." He continued to retreat with Captain Erescano, and was the last to get into the boats. Roxas was severely wounded by the side of Lord Cochrane at the cutting out of the Esmeralda from under the forts of Callao in 1820.

officers and two hundred and twenty men were taken prisoners. The rest were killed in action, excepting a few who escaped, with the two commanding officers, to Chiloe. Quintanilla was so much ashamed of the whole party that he sent off Santalla and Bobadilla* in deserved disgrace to Lima.

Captain Labé, of the Chileno service, highly distinguished himself on this occasion, as he had done during the assault of Valdivia.

On the 20th of February, Lord Cochrane, Major Miller, and the wounded, sailed for Valparaiso in the Montezuma, the O'Higgins not having completed the repairs necessary to make her sea-worthy. Three miles west of the westernmost point of the island of Santa Maria are sunken rocks not laid down in any chart. The Montezuma passed between them and the island. She was abreast of them, and going at the rate of eight knots, before the breakers were seen.

Major Miller experienced a long and severe illness, the result of so many wounds, of so much fatigue, and of privations incidental to such a service. It was fortunate that he arrived at that period in Chile, where the national character does not perhaps display a more amiable trait than the unceasing care with which people of every class watch over the stranger whom sickness overtakes and places at their threshold. Without distinction of rank or party, the palace or the hut is alike open to the invalid, for whom the liveliest sympathy is evinced by every individual of the family. At Santiago, Major Miller occupied apartments in Lord Cochrane's mansion; but the

* Both these officers survived the dangers of the campaigns of Peru, and returned to Spain. Captain *Bobadil* was amongst those who capitulated at Ayacucho.

whole family being at Valparaiso, a Chileno officer of distinction, with his amiable and accomplished wife, visited him daily, and at length prevailed upon him to remove to their own house, where he was watched night and day with unremitting solicitude, till returning health and strength enabled him to take the field once more. This kindness of the Chilenos fixes upon the heart of the recovered stranger ineffaceable impressions of the most grateful and pleasing remembrance.

After the battle of Maypo, ladies of the highest rank visited the hospitals as a matter of course; each undertaking the care of as many of the wounded as her means would allow. They administered medicines, and brought refreshments, prepared at their own houses; and all exerted themselves to soothe the sufferings, in a way which seemed to proclaim that every wounded patriot was their brother. He whose task it is historically to pourtray the features of desolating warfare cannot but dwell with pleasure on traits which soften and illuminate the dark melancholy picture.

The repeated delay in the sailing of the grand expedition from Cadiz was now ascertained to have arisen from a disinclination of the troops to embark, and which ended in the conspiracy of the Isla de Leon, and the establishment of the cortes. It was therefore no longer apprehended that an invasion would take place. Spain was rendered incapable of attempting the reconquest of America in consequence of her own intestine divisions.

General San Martin set out from Mendoza in the

beginning of January, 1820, for Chile; and, apprehensive that the spirit of disunion, which then agitated the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, would extend itself to the recruits raised in the province of Cuyo, he directed that the whole of the troops should march for Chile. The two cavalry regiments obeyed orders, and, after losing some men from desertion on the march, they arrived at Rancagua in February, 1820. The light-infantry battalion, one thousand and seventy strong, under the command of Colonel Alvarado, mutinied at San Juan, and dispersed; many to return to their homes, and others to attach themselves to some favourite leader.

A misunderstanding now arose between the Buenos Ayrean government and General San Martin, who was ordered, with the troops of that state, to re-cross the Andes, to quell some disturbances which had broken out in several of the provinces. The general, supported by the unanimous decision of a council of war, declined to obey the order, upon the ground, that to take any part in the civil dissensions which distracted the provinces of Tucuman, Cordova, Santa Fé, Entre-Rios, and Buenos Ayres, would be to set aside the projected expedition to subvert the Spanish authority in Peru; and that it would expose the whole of his army to the contagion of those anarchical principles which had already proved so fatal to the battalion of *cazadores* at San Juan.

This refusal gave great offence. The Buenos Ayreans accused San Martin of having, by that act, withdrawn his allegiance from the general government of the united provinces of the river Plata. as

the executive in Buenos Ayres styled itself. Every effort was made to lower San Martin in public opinion. Some lawyers and other civilians, jealous of the natural influence which services in the field gave to the general, were amongst the most active underminers of his reputation. These detractors, never having exposed their own persons in action, were the declared enemies of the military. It may be politic to prevent successful generals from retaining an undue preponderance, but the littleness by which many of General San Martin's enemies were actuated is too manifest to exempt them from feelings of contempt.

From that time all co-operation on the part of Buenos Ayres was withheld. A club, called the *Logia*, an institution of Spanish origin, and introduced at Buenos Ayres for the ostensible object of promoting the emancipation of Spanish America, lent its aid to bring San Martin into disrepute, although he himself was a principal member. The Logia, in a noiseless manner, gradually monopolized the patronage of the principal civil and military appointments.

The Logia arrogated to themselves the privilege of secretly selecting the commanding officers of regiments, or of ratifying appointments made by the general; and they disputed the right of any general-in-chief to remove such officers, for any cause, without the previous concurrence of the club. Such members as were chiefs in the army of the Andes, and had become more or less inimical to San Martin, were supposed to receive proportionate support and countenance from the Logia. The members also took upon themselves to influence, if not to direct military operations.

If General Belgrano had paid less deference to the plans of a mischievous knot of incompetent directors, he would have marched to Upper Peru, instead of waiting in Tucuman, where he saw his army of four thousand fine troops waste away by desertion. The result of General San Belgrano's blind obedience to the Logia was, that he was made prisoner by his own men.

To the charge of withdrawing his allegiance, General San Martin is reported to have answered, that, besides the weighty reasons which influenced the unanimous decision of the council of war, there did not, in point of fact, exist any legitimate government at all; and that Buenos Ayres was ruled by successive factions, which displaced each other once a month, and sometimes oftener; an assertion which will be borne out by the history of Buenos Ayres at that period. From Santiago General San Martin sent a sealed packet to the chief of the staff, and second in command, Colonel Las Heras, whose head-quarters were then at Rancagua. The packet, opened in the presence of the whole of the officers of the army, convened for that purpose, contained a letter, which intimated that, as the government was dissolved, from whence San Martin's commission as commander-in-chief emanated, he felt it to be his duty to tender his resignation to the officers of the army at large, and to authorise them to elect by ballot a successor to the chief command. On the same day General San Martin was unanimously re-elected.

The above details appear to be necessary to account for the tardy progress of the independent cause, after

the decisive advantages obtained by the victory of Maypo.

On the 11th of June, 1820, Miller was promoted by General San Martin to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the eighth or black battalion of Buenos Ayres, eight hundred strong. Don Enrique Martinez, the colonel commanding, received Miller with as much kindness and consideration, as if the appointment had taken place upon his own recommendation. The friendly hospitality, which he received on joining, was continued during nearly two years that he served in the battalion. Nor did this promotion produce any symptoms of an ungracious feeling on the part of the major and other officers thus passed over. The officers of the eighth had commenced their career at the dawn of the revolution, and had served with distinction. One and all uniformly, and with the greatest cordiality, lent their willing assistance to supply the deficiencies which arose partly from Miller's not speaking the language perfectly, and from his not being thoroughly versed in the duties of his new appointment.

San Martin, having wisely declined to interfere in the dissensions of Buenos Ayres, and finding himself placed again at the head of the army of the Andes by the unanimous vote of its officers, directed his attention to his favourite project of liberating Peru; a measure which had now become indispensable, in order to employ his army, which, in the absence of a foreign enemy, was dwindling away by desertion.

The obstacles to the equipment of the expedition were almost insurmountable. The Chileno treasury

had been drained for the support of the army, which was kept together with some difficulty; and by the formation of the navy. Without money and without credit, the attention of the government was repeatedly diverted from the object of emancipating Peru, in order to counteract the continued machinations of the remnant of the Carrera party *. (See Appendix, E.)

The squadron was divided and agitated by the conflicting parties of Cochrane and Guise †.

In the south, Benavides, although deprived of the resources of Valdivia, was formidable enough to render the measures for the security of the province of Concepcion a source of very great expense and alarm. Buenos Ayres, a prey to successive anarchies, had neither the power nor the will to lend her assistance.

The army of General Belgrano having dissolved in Tucuman, the royalist army, under General Ramirez, was at full liberty to march from Upper Peru, to any part of the coast, to the assistance of the viceroy Pezuela.

The government of Chile, hopeless of farther co-operation from Buenos Ayres, and suffering from intestine divisions, managed, with great difficulty, to assemble a force of four thousand five hundred men. Under other circumstances, this number might have been more than doubled. Notwithstanding the dis-

* Two of the Carreras were shot at Mendoza three days after the battle of Maypo. The third suffered the same fate at the same place about two years afterwards.

† These originated in bickerings on some unimportant points of etiquette, and were carried to a length which proved highly detrimental to the service. But as these disputes do not, it would appear, reflect credit upon either of the principal parties, the subject will pass without farther remark.

union of the patriots, it was evident that the Spanish yoke was equally dreaded by all; and that the desire of independence was so ardent as not to be suppressed by partial dissensions.

On the present occasion, the merchants came forward with a liberality which proved them to be animated by a zealous patriotism. To their confidence and timely assistance the final equipment of the expedition must, in a great measure, be ascribed; and, if it had failed, the terms of their contracts, which they entered into with the government, would most probably never have been fulfilled.

It may not be amiss now to give a statement of the strength and distribution of the royalist forces in Peru. The former is on the authority of the viceroy Pezuela, as stated in his "Manifesto," published at Madrid in 1821; according to which, the grand total of his force in 1820 was twenty-three thousand regulars.

There were in Callao and Lima .	7815
In Pisco, Cañete, and Chancay . .	700
The rest might have been distributed as follows:	
Upper Peru	6000
Arequipa and province, Truxillo, Guayaquil, Guamanga, Cuzco, Xauxa, &c.	8485
	23,000*.

* The above comparative statement will furnish perhaps the best answer to the Spanish *constitutionalists*, who have contended, that the Peruvians did not generally wish for independence, for, without the support of public opinion, could General San Martin have maintained himself in Peru?

It will also justify the cautious measures of that commander, in abstaining from risking the existence of his army in a general action.

CHAPTER XIII.

Liberating army.—Sails from Valparaiso.—Disembarks at Pisco. —Arenales.—Affair at Nasca.—Army re-embarks.—Ancon. —Guayaquil.—Esmeralda.—Army disembarks at Huacho.— Chancay.—Colonel Campino.—Exchange of prisoners of war. —Battalion of Numancia.—Action of Cerro de Pasco.— Dissensions of the royalists.—Pezuela deposed.—La Serna made viceroy.—Lady Cochrane.—The admiral sails to Callao. —Returns to Huacho.—Proceeds to Pisco.—Armistice of Punchauca.

THE unceasing exertions and determined perseverance of the supreme director, and of General San Martin, seconded by the commendable spirit of adventure and zealous patriotism of the merchants, overcame, at last, those obstacles which had for so long a period delayed the sailing of the expedition.

The liberating force assembled at Valparaiso on the 16th of August, 1820. On the 19th and 20th the following corps embarked:

Infantry,	Battalions No. 7,	Division of the Andes*;
	8,	
	11,	
Cavalry,	Granaderos à Cavallo,	
	Cazadores à Cavallo,	
Artillery,	two troops,	

* One-third of the soldiers of the division of the Andes were Chilenos; but the officers were Buenos Ayreans, many of whom were also in the division of Chile.

Infantry,	Battalions	No. 2,	Division of Chile:
		4,	
	(in skeleton)	5,	
Artillery, one troop,			

and sailed on the 21st, under convoy of the Chileno ships of war: the total number not exceeding four thousand five hundred soldiers (including the men afterwards taken on board at Coquimbo), with twelve pieces of artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miller embarked in the Santa Rosa transport, with two companies of his own battalion (No. 8. of Buenos Ayres), and two companies of his former corps, the Buenos Ayrean artillery *. The arrangements for the embarkation of the troops were highly creditable to Colonel Las Heras and the naval officers who superintended this operation.

Notwithstanding the numerical weakness of the expedition, the effort now made to liberate Peru will be regarded as one of no inconsiderable importance, especially when the unsettled state of Chile and the exhausted condition of its resources are considered. Three years had hardly elapsed since Chile herself lay prostrate at the feet of that paralyzing despotism

* It is remarkable that Lieutenant-Colonel Miller was the only field-officer who sailed with the expeditionary army from Valparaiso, who was also present at the great final victory of Ayacucho. Thus it was his singular fortune to have been the first patriot officer to land on the coast (1819), and to have heard the first and last shots fired during the Peruvian war of independence. Of nearly five thousand that sailed from Valparaiso in 1820, not more than ten officers and ninety privates continued in active service in Peru, to be present at the last victory. Besides the proportion which fell by the usual casualties of the war, many of the higher ranks were displaced by faction; numbers were swept off by the prevailing diseases of the country; and not a few for want of medical attendance. The hospitals were in a state of wretchedness beyond imagination; there was scarcely a regimental surgeon in the army, and the medical staff was composed of so very few, that the lives of the sick or wounded soldiers may be said to have been trusted almost solely to nature. The want of medicines was sometimes even greater than the want of medical men.

which had enthralled her for ages. Although enfeebled by the struggle with her oppressor, as well as by civil dissensions, she now put forth her remaining strength to liberate a neighbouring state. It was in truth an imposing and exciting spectacle to behold that bay crowded with shipping, under patriot banners, which formerly received only one merchant vessel annually. As the several corps, marching from cantonments, with music playing, through cheering multitudes, severally arrived upon the beach, they were taken off to their respective transports in the greatest order, and without the occurrence of a single accident.

The population of the capital and of the country had poured into Valparaiso, and every avenue was crowded with spectators. Many females who had shared the fortunes of other campaigns were now unavoidably left behind, and their farewell ejaculations, accompanied by the weeping of children, gave a deep and distressing interest to the busy scene.

Miller, on his leaving Valparaiso, received from numerous friends those hearty expressions of good wishes which, at such a time, relieve the heart from that heaviness which approaching separation always produces. A scene not devoid of affecting interest awaited him upon the strand. Some twenty or thirty marines who happened to be on shore from the different men of war, and who had served with him in his former expeditions, had spontaneously assembled at the water's edge to witness his embarkation. These faithful comrades continued to shout their parting *vivas* until the receding boat was out of hearing.

On the 25th of August, 1820, the liberating expedition hove to off Coquimbo. Lord Cochrane, in the O'Higgins, stood into the bay to order out the brig-of-war Araucano, and a transport having on board the Chileno battalion No. 2. On the 26th, the convoy again made sail. On the 27th, the Aguila transport, with seven hundred men of the battalion No. 4, parted company. In the night of the 30th, the Santa Rosa, with Lieutenant-Colonel Miller on board, also parted company, in consequence of the carelessness of the mate of the watch. The transport continued her voyage to the second rendezvous, and stood off and on for two days, without catching sight of a vessel. She then made sail for the third rendezvous, Punta de Cavallo. On her arrival there, the supply of water taken in at Valparaiso was nearly expended, and it was therefore determined to proceed to the bay of Pararca, in latitude 13° south. On making the bay, the greater part of the expedition was discovered at anchor there. The Santa Rosa narrowly escaped being captured by two Spanish frigates, which were seen in the offing the evening before. Had she been twelve hours earlier, she must have fallen into their hands. The patriot ships of war had given chase, but the Spanish frigates outsailed them.

The convoy had reached an anchorage in Pararca bay at six P. M. on the 7th of September, having made the passage from Valparaiso, a distance of about fifteen hundred miles, in sixteen days. Colonel Las Heras, chief of the staff, with three battalions (Nos. 2, 7, and 11) two pieces of mountain artillery, and fifty cavalry, landed, on the 8th, two leagues south

of the town of Pisco, but did not approach within musket-shot until seven P. M., when a halt was ordered, and a careful reconnoissance made. About eighty Spanish cavalry were seen to retire from the town in the course of the day. A few long shots were uselessly fired at them from the Montezuma, but the troops on shore did not molest their retreat. Having ascertained that the town was abandoned, the patriot division entered and bivouacked for the night in the Plaza. The disembarkation of the rest of the troops was not completed until the 12th.

The first object of San Martin was, after having taken Pisco, to occupy the surrounding country, for the purpose of adding to his numbers by taking able-bodied slaves from the vineyards and sugar estates, situated at great and irregular distances; but the disembarkation of the troops being so leisurely performed, and the men under Las Heras having advanced with such extraordinary caution, the owners had time to remove the principal part of their negro property.

The reason assigned for this delay was the tardy arrival of a heavy-sailing transport, bringing horses for the cavalry, staff, and field officers.

General San Martin had given up the Santa Rosa for lost, and was so delighted upon her arrival, that he ordered the band of every corps in Pisco to welcome the troops, by playing the *diana* (reveillé.) The Aguila had previously arrived.

On the 13th, General San Martin established his head-quarters at Pisco. On the 22d, Colonel Alvarado, with the regiment of *granaderos à cavallo*, took pos-

session of the two villages of Upper and Lower Chincha. On the 23d, General San Martin reconnoitred the valley of the same name, and was received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants. The Marquess of San Miguel, who possessed large estates in that neighbourhood, joined the patriots. He received the rank of colonel, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the general-in-chief. On the 26th of September a suspension of arms for eight days was agreed upon between the commissioners of San Martin and those of the viceroy, at Miraflores, near Lima, for the purpose of adjusting a pacification, on the basis of the entire independence of Peru; but, as the viceroy would not accede to this point, hostilities recommenced, on the expiration of the truce.

On the 5th of October, General Arenales marched from Pisco with battalions No. 2 and 11, eighty cavalry, and two field-pieces, and entered Ica on the 6th, where they were received by the inhabitants with every expression of satisfaction. The royalist Colonel Quimper and the Count de Montemar abandoned Ica with eight hundred regulars and militia. Two companies of the latter, with their officers, passed over to Arenales. On the 12th, Lieut.-Colonel Roxas, second in command under Arenales, was detached with eighty infantry, and the same number of cavalry, in pursuit; and on the 15th reached Changuilla, four leagues north of Nasca, where the royalists had halted.

The small party of patriot cavalry, led by Captains Lavalle and Bransden, and Lieutenant D. Vicente Suares, galloped into the town; surprised the royalists; and put them to flight. They were pursued for

above a league, and left on the road upwards of sixty killed and wounded. Six officers and eighty soldiers were made prisoners, besides a number of militia. Three hundred muskets, with a quantity of swords and lances, fell into the hands of the patriots. The Spanish force, consisting the day before of six hundred men, was totally dispersed. The inhabitants of Nasca hailed the party of Lieutenant-Colonel Roxas as deliverers, and gave information, that one hundred mules, laden with military stores and effects, carried away from Ica, were still at Acari, thirty leagues south of Nasca. Roxas sent Lieutenant Suares forward with a party of cavalry, and, in spite of the difficulty of the desert they had to pass, and length of the march, the indefatigable Suares reached Acari at two P. M. on the 16th, and captured the whole royalist convoy. On the 19th, Roxas returned to Ica.

On the 20th of October, Arenales marched from Ica for the interior, leaving a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Bermudes and Major Aldao to retain possession of that province. On the 25th, the remainder of the liberating force re-embarked at Pisco, and sailed northward on the 26th.

On the 29th the squadron anchored in the bay of Callao. On the 30th the transports, under convoy of the San Martin, sailed to the little bay of Ancon, six or eight leagues north of Lima. Ancon consists of a few fishermen's huts, half buried in the drifted sand: there is no fresh water within several miles. On the 31st, fifty cavalry and twenty infantry, under Lieutenant Raulet, a French officer, were landed. A detachment of royalist cavalry appeared in the

sandy plain to reconnoitre. On the 1st of November, Raulet advanced to Copacabana, within five leagues of Lima, where he remained in observation. On the 3d, two hundred infantry and forty cavalry were disembarked at Ancon, and sent under the command of Major Reyes to Chancay.

On the 5th, a battalion of royalist infantry and two squadrons of cavalry made a reconnoissance upon Ancon. Corporal Alomi, who was instrumental in saving Captain Brown of the Maypo, passed over from the royalist regiment of Numancia. He was made a sergeant of No. 8.

On the 4th, the *Alcance* schooner arrived at Ancon with despatches from the municipality of Guayaquil, announcing that that province had declared itself independent of Spain, and offering to place its resources at the disposal of San Martin, in furtherance of his object of emancipating Peru. This change was brought about by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Gregorio Escoveda, who, with the assistance of the troops of the garrison, established a provisional government, of which Escoveda was appointed president.

The Chileno squadron remained at anchor in the bay of Callao, blockading the Spanish shipping. Lord Cochrane having planned the cutting out of the Esmeralda, four days were actively devoted to preparations. The Spanish frigate was protected by the castles, a corvette, two brigs of war, several armed merchant-men, and above twenty gun-boats.

At 11 o'clock at night of the 5th November, one hundred and eighty seamen, and one hundred marines,

in two divisions, commanded by Captains Guise and Crosbie, put off in the launches of the squadron, led by Lord Cochrane in person. They approached the Esmeralda unperceived, until hailed by a sentry in a gun-boat astern of the frigate. Lord Cochrane answered, "Silence or death." In half a minute the boats were alongside the Esmeralda, and boarded starboard and larboard at the same moment. The Spaniards made a spirited resistance with small arms, but before one o'clock of the 6th the Esmeralda was in possession of the admiral. Her cables were cut, her sails set, and she, with two gun-boats, at half-past one, was transferred to another anchorage. The British frigate Hyperion, and the United States ship Macedonian, which happened to be in the port during this operation, got under way, and hoisted lights as signals, as had been previously agreed upon with the governor, to prevent being fired upon, in the event of a night attack. Lord Cochrane, with admirable adroitness, ordered similar lights to be hoisted, so that the Spaniards could not distinguish neutral from enemy. In the whole naval career of Lord Cochrane, there will not be found any thing, perhaps, to exceed this ably planned and brilliantly executed exploit. His lordship was wounded in the thigh by a musket-ball *. The brave Lieutenant Grenfell, now a highly distinguished officer in the service of the Brazils, and who has since lost an arm, was wounded.

The Spaniards lost a hundred and fifty men, in

* Lord Cochrane and Captain Guise boarded the opposite quarters of the frigate at the same time. They met on the quarter-deck, and supported each other in the thickest of the fight. This circumstance produced a short-lived reconciliation.

killed and wounded, on board the Esmeralda. Amongst the latter was Captain Coy, the late commander, who, after capture, received a severe contusion by a shot from the castles, or a gun-boat. The patriots had fifty killed and wounded. The Esmeralda was ready for sea; she had provisions for three months, and stores for two years on board.

The garrison of Callao was so much exasperated by the result of the daring enterprise, that they massacred an officer and boat's crew sent on shore, soon after day-break, from the United States frigate Macedonian, under the pretext that the "Devil" Cochrane would never have succeeded unless he had been assisted by the neutral men-of-war.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the admiral sent a flag of truce to propose an exchange of prisoners, upon principles to which, until then, the viceroy would never accede.

Huanuco, shortly after this time, signified its adherence to the cause of independence. To show that the cry of "*Viva la patria!*" had also been heard beyond the Andes, a young man arrived in seventeen days from the banks of the Marañon, or river of the Amazons, with five horses as a present from his mother to the commander-in-chief of the liberating army, wherever he might be found. The youth, having embraced the general, and seen the patriot troops, returned to his widowed mother with intelligence calculated to strengthen her hopes that the hour of emancipation was at hand.

The viceroy, being informed that Major Reyes had taken possession of Chancay, ordered Colonel Valdez

to march to that place. He passed Ancon on the night of the 7th November. On the morning of that day, General San Martin set sail for Callao. On the following day he returned to Ancon bay with Lord Cochrane and the whole of the squadron, including the Esmeralda, which was afterwards named the Valdivia. In the evening of the 8th, the squadron and convoy again left Ancon. They arrived on the 9th off Huacho, where, in the course of the two following days, all the troops were disembarked. Huacho is twenty-eight leagues north of Lima, and is the port of Haura. The valley of that name is two leagues in width at the end nearest the sea, and ten leagues in length from west to east. The surrounding country is a sandy waste. San Martin placed his troops on the right bank of a river, fordable at only a few places. This position cut off the usual communication between Lima and Truxillo, Lambayeque and Payta, by the roads on the coast.

Major Reyes having been compelled, after making some resistance, to retire from Chancay on the approach of the royalist Valdez, with four hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, passed on to Supe, a few leagues to the north of Haura. On unexpectedly perceiving the royalist force halt, and form upon the road, which winds down a lofty sand-hill at the entrance of the valley, a mile from Chancay, the patriot infantry fell in; the dragoons saddled their horses; and all retired whilst Valdez sent a party to reconnoitre, instead of advancing with all his men. So soon as he saw the patriot infantry emerge from the cultivated valley into the desert on the opposite side,

Valdez pushed on. Major Reyes continued his retreat with the infantry. Captain Bransden remained with his forty dragoons in the rear, and, watching a favourable opportunity, charged the royalist cavalry as they advanced by a narrow road, walled on both sides, and drove them, with the loss of three officers and many men, back on their infantry. Bransden then rejoined his own party. The further retreat of the patriots was unmolested. Valdez followed them at a cautious distance for three leagues, and then returned to Chancay.

On the 14th, Colonels Guido and Luzuriaga sailed for Guayaquil, to compliment the provisional government on the recent changes; and to establish a good understanding between it and the liberating army.

On the 17th, the patriot infantry moved to Supe. In the battalions Nos. 7 and 8 were above a hundred blacks, who had been taken as recruits, the year before, from estates in the neighbourhood. Upon this occasion they were permitted to leave the ranks to converse with their parents, brothers, or friends, who came forth from their huts to welcome those who, so recently, had been their fellow-slaves. The account which the black soldiers gave of the service induced many slaves to inlist. Many royalists also passed over daily to the patriot troops.

On the 21st, the battalion No. 5 marched for Huaras, twenty-eight leagues to the north-east. On the same day, the royalists advanced from Chancay to Chancaillo. In the expectation that they were proceeding to Sayan, Colonel Alvarado fell back from

that place to Supe, where he arrived on the 24th. On the 25th, General San Martin went from Supe to Huacho, and directed Colonel Alvarado to reconnoitre the next day. The only party which came in contact with the royalists was Lieutenant Pringuel and twenty *granaderos à cavallo*, whose retreat was cut off by eighty royalist cavalry. The twenty patriots did not surrender until three were killed and eleven wounded. These small affairs, although not always successful, produced an impression upon the royalists, which perhaps accounts for the viceroy not employing his superior numbers in a more decisive manner. On the 27th, General San Martin returned to Supe. On the 29th, the patriot Colonel Campiño, having rapidly advanced with a small detachment of his battalion, took Hauras by surprise, and made prisoners Lieutenant-Colonel Lantaño, two other officers, and sixty-seven rank and file.

The 2d December was an interesting day at Supe. Twenty-two officers and eighty-five non-commissioned officers and privates were landed from a lugger. These unfortunate men had been released, in pursuance of the agreement between the viceroy and General San Martin for an exchange of prisoners. They were the only survivors of upwards of a thousand patriots, who had been made prisoners in the early part of the revolution, on the plains of Buenos Ayres, or in Upper Peru. Shackled together, they had been forced to march from four to six hundred leagues, and were afterwards immured in the dismal casemates of the castles of Callao.

In order to induce the prisoners to become apostates to the cause they had espoused, specious offers were made by the viceroy to all who would enter the royalist service: when allurements proved unavailing, he threatened them with the death due to rebels, whilst the priesthood refused them the consolations of religion at the dying hour. To a man they adhered firmly to the principles for which they had fought, but not more than one out of ten outlived the horrors of nine years of such imprisonment.

It was an affecting sight to witness the arrival of those heroic survivors. Their wan sallow countenances, their meagre forms, and tottering gait, bespoke the fatal inroads which prolonged captivity, under such ferocious gaolers, had made in their constitutions. They were, of course, received with open arms by the officers and soldiers of San Martin, amongst whom they recognised many an old companion in arms.

General San Martin gave these devoted soldiers the option of returning to their homes; but such was their enthusiasm, that all volunteered to serve in the liberating army, to promote the cause of their country, and avenge their own individual wrongs. Several of them died in a short time, in consequence of the sudden change from imprisonment to a life of liberty; others were afterwards killed in action. Of the whole number, perhaps there are not twenty alive at this day.

It would be well for the republican governments to seek out the remnant of these brave unfortunates,

and to make the remainder of their days glide off in ease and comfort*.

On the 3d December the Spanish battalion of Numancia, six hundred and fifty in number, passed over in a body to the service of the patriots, with captains Don Tomas Heres and Don Ramon Herrera at their head. This battalion formed the rear-guard of a royalist division, which had advanced from Copacabana, to make a reconnoissance, as it was in the act of retiring from Palpa. It had marched all day, and halted about two leagues in the rear, when, suddenly countermarching, it carried into effect a plan conceived by Lieutenants Guas, Izquierdo, and other subalterns, who had the address to gain over not only the non-commissioned officers and men, but also the captains. The only persons who opposed the measure were Colonel Delgado and two officers, who were delivered up as prisoners to the patriots at Retes. The battalion was conveyed in two transports from Chancay to Huacho, where they arrived on the following day. The Numancia regiment was originally sent out from Spain to Venezuela, under General Morillo.

* The South American governments, *if they sought for them*, might easily trace other deserving veterans, pinched by want, enfeebled by disease, and scattered about in obscurity. It would well become them to pension invalids, and to see that such pensions were actually paid; for it is to the constancy and devotion of such men that they owe their existence as *governments*. They would do themselves more honour by providing for veterans pining in poverty than by sending forth proclamations and decrees full of high sounding words and pompous declamation. Those "*doctores*," who are so fond of displaying their eloquence and fine writing, ought to cite the examples of these veterans, instead of overloading their speeches and productions with those eternal pedantic allusions to the heroes of Greece and Rome, which often make their language unintelligible to the mass of the people. Liberty is their constant theme; it is to be regretted that the practical illustration of it should be so little understood. Independence has indeed been attained, but Liberty has only hovered along the coast, where she has been kept in strict quarantine. Hitherto her *name* is all that has been smuggled ashore.

At the time of their joining the patriot standard, the men were nearly all Colombians, who had been pressed into the service to fill up the vacancies occasioned by casualties. This regiment was in a state of discipline, not inferior to any corps in any European service.

On the 8th of December, thirty-eight officers and several cadets absconded from Lima, and passed over to the patriot service, joining the advanced post at Chancay. Among them was Salaverri, a boy only twelve years of age, who had run from his father's house, and who displayed an extraordinary degree of persevering spirit when closely pursued.

On the 5th of December, General San Martin directed the infantry to resume their position on the right bank of the river Haura, which was now strengthened by field-works. The right of this extended line rested upon the sea, having Huacho in front, and the left at Sayan, seven or eight leagues up the valley of Haura. The royalists withdrew their advance to Asnapugio, two leagues north of Lima, in order to render desertion to the patriots more difficult.

It has been already stated that General Arenales, with about a thousand patriots, marched from Ica on the 21st of October, 1820. He entered Guamanga on the 31st, Guanta on the 6th of November, Xauxa on the 21st, and Tarma on the 23d. Here it was his intention to remain, in order to favour the rising of the Indians in support of the cause of independence; but having ascertained that the royalist General O'Reilly had arrived at Canta, on his way to Pasco, with one thousand infantry, one hundred and eighty

cavalry, and a company of artillery, Arenales marched for the same point, with seven hundred and forty infantry, one hundred and twenty cavalry, and four field-pieces.

On the 6th of December, Arenales arrived at the Cerro de Pasco, where he found the royalists drawn up in line behind a deep ravine. On their right was swampy ground, and on their left a small lake. The patriot battalion No. 2, commanded by the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Aldunate, made a detour of the lake, and threatened the royalists in flank, at the moment the No. 11, under the brave Lieutenant-Colonel Deza, attacked in front. The royalists gave way, one officer and fifty-eight rank and file were killed, one officer and nineteen rank and file wounded, twenty-eight officers and three hundred and fifteen rank and file, two pieces of artillery, and three hundred and sixty muskets, were taken on the field. The patriot cavalry, under Major Lavalle, followed up General O'Reilly* so closely that he was taken prisoner by Lieutenant D. Vincente Suarez, and hardly a man of his division escaped. Lieutenant-Colonel Don Andres Santa Cruz, a native of La Paz, delivered himself up to Major Lavalle, and from that period served with the independents.

This complete and brilliant affair was the close of Arenales's expedition. It had been attended with a degree of success which could not have been reasonably anticipated. Having accomplished so much, it was natural to expect that Arenales would maintain

* O'Reilly was an Irishman. He was permitted to return to Spain, but his late reverse preyed so much on his mind, that on the passage he threw himself overboard, in a state of delirium, and was drowned.

his ground. But it happened, unfortunately, that Colonel Alvarado, who commanded the advance of San Martin's forces at Palpa, near Chancay, was misled by false intelligence, and wrote to Arenales in a way which induced the latter to re-cross the Andes. So soon as General San Martin was informed of this mistake, he ordered Arenales to countermarch to Pasco; but he had already passed the Cordillera, and he was permitted to continue his march to Retes, where his division arrived on the 8th of January, in a deplorable state, in consequence of the sufferings, fatigues, and privations they had undergone in crossing the Andes.

The Indians who had been induced to rise against the royalists made a gallant stand at Huancayo and other points; but, unsupported, they were routed with merciless slaughter by the royalist General Ricaforte.

Pasco and a considerable line of country to the southward was however held by a party which had been left at Ica, and which had been obliged to abandon that province and follow the movement of Arenales. Major Aldao, who commanded this detachment, distinguished himself on several occasions, and particularly in the affair at Huancayo. He reached Pasco after Arenales had quitted.

On the 9th of January, 1821, the Araucano, Captain Carter, captured, after a gallant resistance, the Aranzazu of six guns and a long eighteen pounder on a traverse. On the 17th, the patriot transports arrived at Huacho, from the port of Chancay, and on the 18th, the O'Higgins and Valdivia arrived from the bay of Callao.

Dissensions broke out amongst the royalist chiefs

about this time; which having considerable influence upon the progress of events, we shall now give a short account of them. General Laserna having been foiled by the *gauchos* in all his boasted plans of carrying on the war *en règle*, obtained the king's leave to return to Spain. In 1819 he arrived in Lima to embark; but in consequence of the expectation of an invasion from Chile, the viceroy promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and prevailed upon him to remain. Soon after San Martin landed at Huacho. Laserna was ordered to march against him, but he refused to have any thing to do with military operations, unless the viceroy would consent to the establishment of a sort of aulic council, to be composed of generals, and to be called the *junta directiva*, in which the viceroy was to have only his individual vote. The directive junta was to decide upon all measures relative to carrying on the war; to have the power of applying the public funds to the payment of the army, in preference to the claims of other departments; to have the removal and nomination of governors and intendants of provinces, and other similar appointments. The majority of the junta being well disposed towards Laserna, the latter became, in point of fact, supreme in military matters. Colonel Loriga was named secretary to the junta.

Notwithstanding these arrangements, Laserna and the junta displayed but little spirit or ability. A very moderate degree of both would have enabled them to have driven the inferior forces of San Martin into the sea; but the measures of the junta appear to have been confined to encamping their army in the unhealthy position of Asnapugio, and to a demon-

stration of attack, which induced General San Martin on the 18th of January to fall back from Retes to the right bank of the river Haura, where he re-occupied his former position, threw up redoubts to command the few fordable passages of the river, and fixed his head-quarters within a league of Haura, determined to accept the battle which now appeared inevitable.

The royalist division of Valdez reached Chancay, where Captain Raulet had an affair with its advance, in which he displayed his usual intrepidity, but was forced to retire with some loss. Before Valdez could advance any farther, he received an order from the vacillating directive junta which compelled him to return to Lima, in doing which he lost above a hundred men by desertion, most of whom passed over to the patriots.

Whatever might have been the faults of Pezuela, it is evident that the junta, which soon managed to invest itself with vice-regal authority as to military matters, showed neither energy, local knowledge, nor information as to the numbers and quality of the invading forces. Had San Martin been attacked upon his first landing at Huacho, he would have been compelled to re-embark and make for the port of Truxillo. Why the royalist army at Asnapugio, upwards of eight thousand in number, did not instantly march against San Martin, is a question which Laserna, Canterac, Valdez, and Loriga, are best able to answer. It may fairly be presumed that the victory of Pasco; the cutting out of the Esmeralda; and the rencontres of Nasca and Chancay, had impressed the minds of the royalist leaders with a considerable

degree of diffidence. Certain it was that the sight of the patriot troops at this time inspired respect. The revolutions of Guayaquil and Truxillo, and the defection of the Numancia regiment, appeared to paralyze the *junta directiva*. Divisions arose between the Spanish chiefs; and Pezuela, who was loudly accused of being the cause of the desponding aspect of affairs, was deposed by military commotion on the 29th of January, 1821, when Laserna was appointed viceroy in his stead.

On the 24th January, one hundred individuals of all ranks passed over to the patriots from Lima. Amongst the military were Colonel Gamarra and Lieutenant-Colonels Velasco and Elespuru. Of the civilians, the most distinguished were Doctor Lopez Aldana, Don Miguel Otero, and Don Joaquin Campino.

About this time a battalion of Peruvians was raised by order of General San Martin.

On the 25th six hundred infantry and sixty cavalry, all picked men, were placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, who received directions to embark on a secret service, under the orders of Lord Cochrane. He proceeded to Huacho. On the day after his arrival there, and whilst he was inspecting the detachments in the *Plaza*, Lady Cochrane galloped on to the parade to speak to him. The sudden appearance of youth and beauty, on a fiery horse, managed with skill and elegance, absolutely electrified the men, who had never before seen an English lady: *que hermosa! que graciosa! que linda! que guapa! que airosa! es un angel del cielo!* were exclamations that escaped from one end of the line to the

other. The colonel, not displeased at this involuntary homage, paid to the beauty of a countrywoman, said to the men, "This is our *generala.*" Her ladyship turned her sparkling eyes towards the line, and bowed graciously. The troops could no longer confine their expressions of admiration to suppressed interjections; loud *vivas* burst from officers as well as men. Lady Cochrane smiled her acknowledgments, and cantered off the ground with the grace of a fairy.

On the 30th of January, the detachments embarked and the squadron sailed. The object of the expedition was to get possession of the castles of Callao. Some of the royalist officers there, having been gained over by General San Martin, had engaged to hoist the independent flag, provided they were supported by the disembarkation of a respectable body of patriots; but the day before the sailing of the troops from Huacho, Pezuela had been deposed, and the garrison of Callao relieved, by troops in the interest of the new viceroy; the expedition consequently returned to Huacho on the 19th of February, without attempting a landing. The troops were disembarked, but kept in readiness to be sent afloat upon some other service.

On the 24th of February, Colonel Gamarra marched to the interior to take the command of the patriots in the sierra south of Pasco. Lieutenant-Colonel Don Leon Febres Cordero accompanied him as second in command.

The patriot advanced posts were at Chancay, eighteen leagues south of the position of their army, on the Haura. On the 6th March, Captain Roxas re-

tired from Chancay before very superior numbers, but when he reached Torre Blanco, three leagues from Chancay, he turned round upon two hundred of his pursuers, made a brilliant charge, and, killing many, totally dispersed the remainder. The gallant Roxas was then permitted to continue his retreat unmolested. On the following morning the royalists evacuated Chancay, and retired to their encampment at Asnapugio. Chancay was re-occupied by the patriots. About this time, Vidal, now promoted to the rank of captain, with a *montonero* party defeated a detachment of the royalists at Quilcachamay. Two captains, one subaltern, seven rank and file, were killed, and seven made prisoners.

On the 12th of March, Captain Quiros, with another *montonero* party, defeated another detachment of royalists at San Geronimo, in the vicinity of which the royalists had burned six villages.

On the 23d of March, Captain Vidal advanced to the *hacienda* of Pedreros, within three leagues of Lima, and carried off without opposition two hundred and forty horses and mules, and one hundred and fifty head of oxen *.

On the 13th of March, Lord Cochrane sailed again from Huacho, on board the San Martin, with five hundred infantry and eighty dismounted cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Miller. In the night of the 21st of March, this detachment, together with the marines of the squadron, landed at Pisco. At sunset on the 22d, their advanced post was at

* These and other operations have been detailed with minute precision, because it is considered that they illustrate the manner in which the war was carried on.

Chincha, eight leagues from the place of disembarkation.

At six A. M. on the 26th, Captain Videla, with a company of infantry and a few cavalry, was attacked at Chincha by Colonel Loriga, who was repulsed, leaving four killed in the town.

On the 25th of March, the *Capitan de fragata* Don Manuel Abreu, commissioner from the King of Spain, arrived by the way of Panama at General San Martin's head-quarters. On the 29th April he proceeded to Lima, where the respectful manner in which he (Abreu) spoke of the patriot officers and army, gave umbrage to the ultra-royalists *.

At the beginning of April, Colonels Lusuriaga and Guido returned from Guayaquil, the provisional government of which place was firmly established. Considerable supplies of arms and ammunition had been sent there from Colombia.

On the 2d of April, orders were issued for the patriot army to be in readiness to advance from its position on the Haura. The battalion No. 5 joined from Supe. On the 12th of April Captain Raulet surprised and made prisoners the royalist advanced post at Tambo Inca, five leagues from Lima.

About this time General Arenales marched with three battalions and the regiment of *granaderos à cavallo*, towards the Cerro de Pasco, which was threatened by a royalist division under Colonel Carratalà.

* This officer was sent out on the recommendation of the *liberal* party in the cortes to ascertain the precise nature of the demands of the Americans; but the same *liberales* did not scruple to avow in conversation that the real object of the mission was to gain time, and that their determination was *never to acknowledge the independence of America.*

On the 27th the patriot infantry broke up their encampment on the Haura; embarked in the transports at Salinas (three leagues south of Huacho); and sailed with the commander-in-chief to windward. The sick and baggage were sent to Supe. The cavalry remained at Huacho.

On the 2d of May the royalist division under General Ricaforte was repulsed by the *montoneros* of the indefatigable Captains Vidal, Quiros, El-guirra, and Navajas, at Quiapata, near Canta. General Ricaforte was severely wounded. The royalists left one officer and nineteen rank and file killed; two officers, forty-three rank and file, prisoners; and many were drowned in retreating across a river.

On the 12th of May the viceroy, Laserna, as president of the *junta pacificadora*, proposed an armistice. General San Martin appointed Colonel Guido, Don Juan Garcia del Rio, Don Ignacio de la Rosa, as commissioners, and Doctor Lopez Aldaña, secretary to the deputation. They met the royalist commissioners, who were the sub-inspector of artillery, Don Manuel Llano y Najera; and the *alcalde de segundo voto*, Don Mariano Galdiano y Mendoza, at Punchauca, five leagues north of Lima.

On the same day the division of General Arenales entered Pasco, and but for a dreadful snow-storm would have prevented the retreat of Colonel Carratala, and his division, which had taken possession of the town a few days previously. The subsequent notification of the armistice prevented Arenales from taking advantage of his position. Had it been delayed, Carratala's division must have been taken near Huancayo.

General San Martin had in the meantime arrived in the bay of Ancon, and had pushed his advanced posts to within two leagues of the capital. On the 23d of May, 1821, an armistice for twenty days was concluded. General San Martin and the viceroy had an interview at Punchauca. The convoy, with the infantry, then returned from Ancon to Huacho.

The armistice being agreed upon, General San Martin next proposed the following terms as the basis of a treaty of peace. Firstly, the recognition of the independence of Peru: secondly, that a *junta gubernativa* should be formed, composed of three individuals; one to be named by the viceroy, another by General San Martin, and a third by the Peruvians, by a *junta electoral* to be composed of a member from each province. The *junta gubernativa* was to establish a provisional constitution, which was to be acted upon until the assembling of a general congress. Thirdly, That two commissioners (one named by the viceroy, the other by San Martin) should be sent to Spain, to notify to the king the declaration of independence, and to invite his majesty to place a prince of his family on the throne of Peru, upon condition that the new sovereign should swear to accept and maintain the constitution. The other articles were relative to the position which each army was to occupy in the meanwhile.

The viceroy gave his personal assent to the proposals; but in two days after his return to Lima he wrote to General San Martin, to acquaint him that he had consulted the chiefs of the royalist army, and that the proposals were pronounced to be inadmissible.

General San Martin was well aware that the cabinet of Madrid would never be induced to ratify the treaty; but his secret object was to compromise the royalist commanders, so as to leave them no other alternative than to unite with him in the cause of independence.

CHAPTER XIV.

Patriot detachment reimbarks at Pisco.—Proceeds to Arica.—Unsuccessful attempts to land.—Morro de Sama.—Arica taken.—Property captured.—Affair of Mirabe.—Moquegua.—Calera.—Armistice.—Patriot prisoners released from slavery.—Mrs. Gago.—The patriots reimbark at Arica.—Sail to the northward.

THE object of the expedition to Pisco, which sailed from Huacho on the 13th of March, 1821, was to interrupt the communication between Lima and the southern provinces.

The viceroy being informed that a patriot detachment had landed, ordered Colonel Garcia Camba, with a division, to march from Lima. Occasional skirmishing took place at the advanced posts of each party between Chincha and Pisco; but both the royalist and patriot commanders were disabled, by illness, from attempting any thing serious against each other. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller was attacked by ague, in consequence of fording the river near Pisco, and sleeping in wet clothes for several successive nights at the outposts.

Of six hundred of his men who landed, twenty-two died within a month, and one hundred and eighty were in the hospital, if that name can be applied to places almost destitute of surgeons, medicine, and attendance. Most of the sick were sent back to Huacho. The rest of the troops were in a very feeble and sickly state.

One hundred slaves, six thousand dollars, five hundred jars of brandy, one thousand loaves of sugar, a quantity of tobacco, and various other articles, taken from estates belonging to Spaniards, or from natives serving with the royalists, were sent on board the squadron.

On the 18th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller was conveyed in a litter on board the admiral's ship. Lord Cochrane, who had been absent on a cruise to Callao, and had only returned to the Bay of Pararca on the 17th, showed much concern at his ghastly appearance. In fact he was reduced to skin and bone, and was delirious from a malignant fever which had confined him to his bed upwards of three weeks in nearly a hopeless state.

The health of the men continuing to decline, it was determined to abandon Pisco, and to endeavour to recruit their strength by a sea voyage. In pursuance of this object, the troops were reimbarked on the 22d of April, in the San Martin, which sailed to the southward, leaving the other vessels of the squadron to proceed back to Callao.

On the 6th of May they were becalmed twenty-five or thirty miles from Arica. A part of the troops were ordered into the boats with Lieutenant-Colonel Miller. They pulled along the coast for four hours without being able to make out a landing-place. A breeze then arising, the San Martin came up with them, and took them on board. They were much exhausted from the heat of the weather, and from having left the ship without a supply of water. The San Martin then anchored out of range of the guns of the fort. A sum-

mons sent to the governor, inviting him to surrender, was treated with disdain. He had a garrison of from three to four hundred men, and the only landing place was defended by a battery mounting twelve pieces of artillery. The swell was unusually great, so that a disembarkation appeared impracticable. This was confirmed by information acquired from neutral vessels at anchor in the bay. Nevertheless an attempt was made a little to the southward, where a naval captain, in his anxiety to see the patriot soldiers on shore, before the riches of Arica could be placed out of reach, fancied he had discovered a spot favourable for disembarkation. Two hundred and fifty men got into the boats, and pushed off at midnight. The sea rolled in long surges, but the surface was unruffled. The stars shone bright enough to render visible a remarkable white patch on the coast that served as a landmark. Captain Wilkinson and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, with thirty men, led the way in the first launch. On nearing the shore they backed in stern foremost; but on arriving within a few fathoms, they were lifted on the crest of a huge roller; carried along with

"The cataract's smoothness ere it dash below;"

and thrown, with the velocity of thought, into a yawning abyss formed by large black loose rocks. Fortunately these rocks prevented the launch from being drawn back by the receding surge, and it was left *high and dry*. The men had scarcely time to jump out and run, when a second roller dashed the launch to pieces. The breadth of snow-white foam formed a terrific contrast with the dark line of coast.

The water, which had previously appeared to be smooth as a mill-pond, now bubbled around rocks which, until then, had escaped observation. The launches astern were warned to keep off, and the nearest, dropping a grapple, was apparently encompassed with breakers. The situation of Miller's party became extremely critical. The men had saved their muskets, but their ammunition was rendered unserviceable. Reimbarkation did not seem to be within the bounds of possibility, and their number was too small to justify any hope of success from a rash attempt to surprise the garrison. Yet, upon consultation, this was found to be the only alternative. It was decided that the party should creep into the town; surprise the guard; get into the fort; and hold out until succour could be obtained. Accordingly the men formed, and search was made for a path, but it was found that the flat beach, a few yards wide, extended only to a very short distance either way, and was walled in on the land side by an almost perpendicular cliff. After climbing and groping about for two hours, no outlet could be discovered in any direction. The party returned and sat down, in a state bordering on despair. It was likely that the royalists had overheard the repeated hailing from the launches, which still kept their stations; and it was apprehended that daylight would bring an additional misfortune, in the shape of an enemy, on the edge of the cliff, whence they could despatch the patriots by a few volleys, or by hurling down fragments of rocks upon their heads. In this desponding interval, Captain Wilkinson discovered the ledge of a rock which projected into the sea. He instantly brought into

play the resources of his professional experience, and adopted a plan which, in ordinary times, might have been considered an act of madness. He ordered one of the launches to pull in, and anchor as closely to the shore as possible. This was done, though with great peril to all on board. A whale-boat was sent from the launch with a small hawser, one end of which was thrown upon the rock, and made fast. By these means the whale-boat was warped to and from the launch. Only two men could stand at one time upon the ledge of the rock, to which they were obliged to cling, drenched by the spray, until a lull, which commonly occurs between every seventh or ninth surge or breaker, enabled the whale-boat to warp to the lee side of the rock, and to remain there just long enough to allow them to lower themselves, by the hawser, with the greatest celerity, and drop into the boat. By this tedious process he party was taken off with the loss of only one man. At sun-rise a party of the Spaniards were seen on the brink of the cliff.

On the following night a second attempt was made to the northward, when the same party was again entangled and nearly swamped amidst breakers, from which they only got clear by dint of extraordinary exertions. The fatigue, the immersions, and the anxieties of those two nights completely exhausted every man employed.

These attempts to land so near Arica ought perhaps not to have been made. Persons from neutral vessels had asserted that the disembarkation was absolutely impracticable, but Lord Cochrane, from past experience

of neutrals, doubted their information. Droves of mules, heavily laden, were occasionally seen to issue from the town towards the interior; and whenever this was perceived, every telescope on board was eagerly caught hold of, and pointed to the moving convoy. The *auri sacra fames* multiplying the number of animals, and converting their cargoes from bales of merchandise into bags of dollars, gave rise to numberless suggestions for the soldiers to be sent on shore, and Lord Cochrane's better judgment at last gave way to these importunities. On this occasion it was curious to contrast the serious countenances of *the troops*, destined to land on the almost hopeless enterprise, with the buoyant spirits of the naval *lookers-on* from the ship.

The soldiers were next transshipped to two small schooners (prizes), and sent to the Morro de Sama, a miserable port ten leagues to the northward of Arica. The schooners had temporary rudders only, and were steered, even before the wind, with difficulty.

Provisions and water for twenty-four hours were put on board; but it was forty-eight hours before the commanding officer of the troops could make out the Morro de Sama, and get his men on shore. They had then to march eight leagues before a good draught of water could be obtained. There was a small well at the Morro; but the water was brackish, and there was scarcely enough to quench the thirst of half a dozen men. Upon landing, the knees of the men trembled under them, as they had not entirely regained their strength, from the effects of ague, and they could not walk more than half an hour at a time

without lying down on the sand to recover themselves.

Upon reaching the top of the mountain (Morro de Sama, too steep to ride a horse up or down, and three miles to the summit by the winding path), a delightful breeze fanned their faces; refreshed the exhausted men; and each felt his strength increase as he went along. The only guide was a soldier who had travelled the road a few times. He was frequently alarmed by doubts as to being in the right direction. The anxieties of this night were rendered perfectly agonizing. Tormented by thirst, knowing that no water could be obtained in the line of road they had passed over, and uncertain whether the route they had taken was the right one, their situation was aggravated by the knowledge that men's lives were frequently lost in those extensive deserts, where for many square leagues nothing is to be seen but a barren sea of sand. Nothing could exceed their joy when the guide discovered, by some remembered hillock, that he was still in the right track.

A fatiguing march of thirteen hours brought the patriots to the entrance of the valley of Sama (at 9 A. M.) in a very distressed state. The sun, which shone scorchingly, and reflected upon a deep loose sand, had deprived them of the invigorating effects of the previous night breeze. So soon as the party caught sight of vegetation, every man rushed forward in search of water: some who could with difficulty but creep till this moment, now ran with the celerity of greyhounds to the valley.

At Sama, horses were procured for the commanding

officer and a few others. On the next day the party advanced to Tacna, a distance of twelve or fourteen leagues, and about twenty from their place of landing. Tacna contains a population of four thousand souls. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller rode on with ten or a dozen soldiers mounted, and was enthusiastically received by the clergy, municipality, and inhabitants, who met him outside the town.

Major Soler had marched from the Morro de Sama, by the coast to Arica, which was abandoned at his approach. He overtook the fugitive garrison in the valley of Asapa, and made about one hundred prisoners, most of whom, with four royalist officers, were admitted into the patriot service by Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, whom Major Soler rejoined at Tacna. Arica was left in possession of the navy, and many houses were plundered.

One hundred and twenty thousand dollars in specie were taken near Locumba, by a detachment sent by Major Soler. This sum, with four thousand dollars found in the custom-house, and about three hundred thousand dollars' worth of merchandise, Spanish property, were all embarked. Original documents, sufficient to condemn the cargoes of the Lord Cathcart, Colombia, and Joseph, lying in the harbour, were found in the archives at Tacna; so that the false papers furnished by British merchants in Rio Janeiro to cover these cargoes became unavailable, and the fraudulent system of cloaking Spanish property sent to the Pacific was thus exposed.

During these operations of the patriots, General Ramirez had ordered three detachments to march

against them. One, of three hundred and eighty men, proceeded from Arequipa by the way of Moquegua, where it was augmented by one hundred rank and file; another from Puno of two hundred and eighty, and another from La Paz, both by way of Tarrata. All three were to form a junction in Tacna, and then "to drive the insurgents into the sea." But, contrary to the calculations of General Ramirez, the patriots had advanced from Arica into the interior, as already stated.

So soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Miller ascertained the movements of the royalist detachments, he determined to attack them separately; for which purpose he advanced from Tacna to meet the party of Colonel La Hera, sent from Arequipa. Miller's force consisted of three hundred and ten infantry, seventy cavalry, and about sixty well mounted volunteer peasantry, with which, on the 20th of May, he arrived at the hamlet of Buena Vista, situated in a romantic spot, at the foot of the Cordillera, which a little higher up is covered with snow. The bracing and almost wintry feeling of the weather was delightful to men who had so lately been traversing scorching sands. Here the patriot commander, having learnt during the night that Colonel La Hera had changed his direction from Locumba, and marched towards Ticapampa, determined to direct his own course with all possible speed to Mirabe, in order to prevent the royalist parties from La Paz and Oruro forming a junction with that from Arequipa.

The march from Buena Vista to Mirabe, a distance of fifteen leagues, is across a stony desert entirely de-

stitute of water and vegetation. The last two leagues, which form one continued descent amidst precipices and projecting rocks, is called the *Mal Paso*, or bad pass, and is so narrow as to admit of advancing in single files only and on foot. After a toilsome march of eighteen hours, the patriots reached, at midnight, the rugged bank of a stream which rushes through the valley of Mirabe. The royalists had, on the preceding afternoon, possessed themselves of the mud wall enclosures, around the cultivated grounds of the little hamlet of Mirabe, situated in a hollow of the opposite or *right* bank, where they awaited the arrival of their expected reinforcements, which at that time had halted, only three miles distant from them, up the valley and on the *left* bank of the river.

As the route from Sama to Mirabe was considered impassable for troops, the royalists had not the most distant idea of the proximity of their enemies; but the indiscreet zeal of a patriot officer in front first announced to the Spaniards their unexpected approach.

The patriot cavalry crossed the torrent, but, upon advancing on the royalists, were driven back. They were not permitted to repass, but made to form above the ford. A rocket party, under the direction of Captain Hind, was detached to an eminence on the left, from which it occupied the attention of the enemy; for the same object another small party was sent to the right. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller remained below with the rest of his men, who sat down in line on the bank of the torrent, unperceived and unheard by the enemy, who were not more than at

pistol-shot distance, but the intervening space was covered with wood.

Whilst the royalists kept up an unceasing fire upon the rocket parties, Miller conveyed his infantry to the other side of the torrent by mounting a foot soldier behind each dragoon, who went and returned until the whole of the troops had effected the passage. Having gained the opposite side of the valley, divided by the river into unequal parts, Captain Plaza was sent with a detachment to fire down upon the enemy, who, not having stirred from their parapeted position, were not aware that the patriots had crossed the river. The royalists finding themselves unexpectedly assailed, withdrew to a short distance. A good deal of random firing took place during the night, and the patriots lost an officer and seventeen men.

The first peep of dawn of the 22d of May discovered the hostile parties in front of each other at two musket shots distance, in a sort of mountain level about half a mile wide. Miller ordered an immediate charge. The celerity with which it was executed frustrated an attempt on the part of the royalists to gain an adjoining ridge on their left. Their retreat, by the track they had ascended from the cultivated enclosures in the valley below, was also cut off. Driven to the edge of a precipitous ridge, the royalists fought with desperate valour for fifteen minutes. Ninety-six were killed on the spot, and one hundred and fifty-seven taken prisoners, most of them wounded; four hundred mules were also taken; about sixty infantry and eighty cavalry escaped. Immediately after the royalists had given way, the ex-

pected reinforcement from Puno and La Paz, mounted upon mules, appeared in sight, upon which the patriots were recalled to face a fresh enemy. A few rockets were discharged at this party as it began to cross the river where during the night it had been passed by the patriots. The royalist reinforcement perceiving that it had arrived too late, instantly countermarched.

In the affair of Mirabe, Mr. Welsh, private surgeon to Lord Cochrane, and who had volunteered his services to accompany Miller on this occasion, was amongst the slain. The loss of this fine young man was very much deplored. There was a liveliness of manners and a kindness of heart perceptible in his assiduous attentions to the sick and wounded, which won for him more than the esteem of all. The soldiers wept over his remains; and such was the idea of his worth, in the minds of the inhabitants of Tacna, that the news of his fall produced, in the principal families, sensations of regret, to an extent unusual upon so short an acquaintance. Lord Cochrane wrote that he would sooner have lost his right arm; and Miller had to lament a friend whose constant attendance had beguiled the irksome hours of a sick bed, and long suffering from severe wounds. Welsh was mourned alike by the soldiers and by the sailors, by his countrymen and by South Americans, and his early death was a severe loss to the patriot service.

On the afternoon of the 22d, Miller continued the pursuit of the few cavalry and infantry of La Hera's division to Moquegua (thirty leagues to the northward), and entered the town at 9 A. M. on the 24th of May. The runaway royalists had arrived a few

hours before, and Colonel La Hera had made the best of his way to Puno, leaving the remains of his detachment at Moquegua. A royalist officer and thirteen rank and file were killed in a skirmish which took place. The rest were made prisoners, with the exception of an adjutant and his servant, who escaped the vigilance of their pursuers by disguising themselves in the *poncho* and clothes of a peasant, whom they met accidentally on the road, and murdered for the sake of obtaining his dress. Colonel Portocarrera, governor of the province of Moquegua, passed over to the patriots.

The town of Moquegua contains nearly ten thousand inhabitants. They received the patriots with every expression of unbounded satisfaction, and, as a proof of their sincere attachment to the cause of independence, voluntarily and cheerfully contributed the means to strengthen and give full efficiency to the little division.

On the 25th of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller learned that from two to three hundred Spaniards were passing the heights of Torata, about five leagues distant. This was the detachment which appeared in the rear of the patriots at the conclusion of the affair of Mirabe, and was now proceeding to Arequipa. The lieutenant-colonel, with a hundred and forty of his infantry upon mules, and a few cavalry, set out in pursuit. A march of fourteen leagues to the eastward brought them, at 9 A.M. on the 26th of May, to Calera (sixty-five leagues from Arica) soon after the royalist party had arrived by a shorter road, without being aware that their pursuers were at

hand. They had scarcely time to saddle, and fly from the place, when the patriots entered. In the course of a further pursuit, of three leagues, all were taken prisoners or dispersed. Of above six hundred royalists, who composed the two detachments sent from Arequipa and Puno, perhaps not above twenty rejoined the Spanish army. About four hundred men, composing the garrison of Arica, had also been annihilated or taken prisoners; so that in less than a fortnight, after the few patriots landed, they had killed, made prisoners, or put *hors de combat*, upwards of a thousand of the royalist army. This success was the result of long, difficult, and forced marches, which the patriots underwent with a cheerfulness and patience worthy the highest admiration. Hunger and thirst in the desert and in the mountain wilds were borne with uncomplaining resignation; but irresistible sleep often overpowered the soldier, who fell as if in a trance from his mule as he rode along, and was sometimes left to follow as he could.

During the march of the patriots, whenever they fell in with Indians, they immediately engaged them to scour the country and bring in the straggling royalists, who for the most part having thrown away their arms quietly submitted. To encourage the Indians in this service, money was given to them, and now and then a jaded mule, which they were permitted to retain on their delivering a Spanish prisoner at Moquegua.

The Indians were assured that neither tribute nor sacrifices were required of them; that the patriots, their brethren in arms, came to liberate them from

tyranny and oppression. Such assurances and conduct towards them produced an extraordinary and enthusiastic feeling of patriotism in these long outraged and oppressed aborigines. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller organized a guerilla party, and having waited for a moonlight night, that he might cross the desert with greater facility, he retired from Calera, leaving there an officer and six regulars. This place being situated near the regions of perpetual snow, his men had begun to suffer greatly from cold and difficulty of respiration.

After a most fatiguing march, he reached Torata, an agreeable Indian village, prettily situated at the foot of high mountains, over which the road to Calera winds. On the next day, the 29th, the patriot party, worn out with fatigue, re-entered Moquegua, hailed by the enthusiastic greetings of the inhabitants.

Moquegua is surrounded by high hills. Ague is very prevalent. The position was objectionable as a defensive one; and Miller, considering his force too weak to attack General Ramirez, who held Arequipa with seven hundred and fifty-four royalists, fell back, on the 4th of June, with the cavalry to Santo Domingo, two leagues from Moquegua. The infantry were ordered to La Rinconada, five leagues in the rear.

On the same day, it was ascertained that La Hera was advancing from Santiago de Machaca with new reinforcements towards Tacna, to cut off the retreat of the patriots. The patriot sick were sent to Ilo. The inhabitants of Moquegua became a little alarmed at these preparations to retreat; but were re-assured by seeing a guerilla party, and a few regulars, de-

spatched to approach as near to Arequipa as the commanding officer, Lieutenant La Tapia, judged it prudent.

On the 7th of June the patriot infantry marched from the Rinconada. On the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller overtook them at Sitana, a place consisting of half a dozen huts, two leagues west of Locumba. On the 9th, the cavalry arrived from Santo Domingo, and the whole division bivouacked on a commodious estate near Sitana.

On the 10th, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller set out for Ilo. After a tiresome ride of fourteen leagues over hills of sand, he reached the town, which, like many others on the sea-coast, is mud-built and miserable. Miller went on board three small brigs which Lord Cochrane had sent to Ilo, to remain there as a resource, in case of emergency. He then visited about thirty sick men; and having left some orders with the *alcalde*, he set out on his return to Sitana on the 11th, whence his division had been ordered to march, and which he came up with, at Sama, the same evening.

His guide on this journey was a captain of militia, who had been brought up by a missionary. He spoke several Indian dialects with fluency, and was master of some curious acquirements: one of the most useful was, that of imitating the different voices of animals. He was often employed to go into the woods and enclosures of the valleys, where he would neigh like a mare; when, if any horses were hidden there by the royalists, they would neigh in answer, and soon became patriot property.

On the 12th, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller rode to Tacna, eight leagues, where he received intercepted correspondence (announcing the armistice of Punchauca) from General Ramirez to Colonel La Hera, who was supposed by Ramirez to have advanced to the coast: but having approached within four leagues of Tacna with eight hundred men, La Hera returned to Santiago de Machaca, believing the patriot force to be superior to his own.

On the 14th of June, Miller concentrated his small force at Tacna, excepting the small party in advance of Moquegua. He sent an officer and a party of guerillas to summon the governor of Tarrapaca. Hostilities ceased in consequence of the intelligence of the armistice of Punchauca. Lord Cochrane sailed from Ilo for Chorrillos and Ancon on the 2d of July, to have an interview with General San Martin. Miller had, at this time, pushed his advanced posts to within fourteen leagues of Arequipa; to within twelve leagues of Santiago de Machaca; and to within a few miles of Iquique: so that the patriots held possession of the principal points of one hundred leagues of country from north to south, and thirty leagues from east to west.

He had augmented his force as far as the supply of arms taken from the enemy would allow. It consisted of nearly nine hundred rank and file, well clothed and equipped. Besides this, several montonero parties had been formed and spread over the country. A communication had been opened with Colonel Lanza, a celebrated guerilla chief in Upper Peru.

In the course of these operations, the spirit of pa-

triotism had been awakened, and it spread with enthusiastic rapidity. Even such of the inhabitants as were Spaniards, or attached to the Spanish cause, behaved in a manner the most friendly. Such was the orderly conduct of the patriot soldiers, that they acquired universal esteem; and such was their intrepidity and good fortune in the field, that the royalists, with double numbers, ceased to act upon the offensive.

The communications from the Spanish commanders to Lieutenant-Colonel Miller contained expressions of personal esteem not common between opposing chiefs in that country. Colonel La Hera, who was beaten at Mirabe, always spoke of his successful opponent in terms of respect and regard.

Amongst other interesting incidents which occurred at this time, we select the following.

Miller, upon his first landing, learned that many negroes and mulattoes formerly belonging to the Buenos Ayrean army, and who had been made prisoners at Sipe-Sipe, and other battles in Upper Peru, still existed in a state of slavery on the plantations in *the Intermedios*. It seems that these unfortunate soldiers had been *sold* by order of the Spanish general. Miller immediately ordered them to be released, and about thirty of them, all that could be found, were restored to freedom. Amongst these were two young men of colour, who had risen in the patriot service to the rank of commissioned officers, in consequence of their good conduct and bravery. But, having been confined for eight years in *galpones*, or slave huts; worked like beasts of burthen; and associating only with *out-door* slaves, their minds had sunk under

the debasing servitude, and they gave themselves up to drunkenness, and all the vices inseparable from a state of slavery. They were found to be so utterly irreclaimable that they could not be employed again. Thus were two brave, and naturally well-disposed men, lost to the service, to society, and to themselves.

Amongst the Spanish prisoners taken at Moquegua was Captain Suarez, who was severely wounded. The royalist chiefs at Arequipa requested that their wounded friend might be permitted to go there for surgical treatment, engaging, at the same time, that he should return as a prisoner when cured of his wounds. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller released the Spaniard *unconditionally*, and supplied him with the means of going to his friends. This trifling occurrence produced a remarkable effect amongst the royalists: for when Miller sent a flag of truce, some time afterwards, into Arequipa, the Spanish officers, discovering that the bearer was commissioned to make some little purchases, kindly undertook to procure the articles, and such as were not to be bought in Arequipa they sent for expressly to Lima; but, unluckily, before they were received, Miller had left the coast. With Old Castilian delicacy the wounded officer did not again take arms upon his recovery, but accepted a civil employment in the custom-house.

When Lord Cochrane approached Arica in May, his views were far more comprehensive than merely to cause a diversion in favour of San Martin. His lordship had previously importuned the Chileno government to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel

Miller with a thousand, or at least five hundred men, and to furnish a thousand stand of spare arms from the ample stores of Santiago. No part of the requisition was ever attended to; and Miller, thus unsupported, was unable to avail himself of excellent opportunities, arising out of the good will of the natives, to recruit. It may easily be imagined with what feelings of disappointment he relinquished the advantages already obtained, and at a time, too, when the fairest prospect appeared, not only of being able to maintain his ground, but also of taking possession of Arequipa, whose inhabitants were warmly disposed in his favour. He might have augmented and organized his forces in that rich and populous city, and have marched towards Cuzco, and thereby placed the royalist army under the viceroy at Huancayo and Xauxa in an embarrassing situation. That this is not an extravagant assumption will probably be granted, if it be remembered that Miller enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the inhabitants of the *Puertos intermedios* * ; that they unanimously pressed forward and made unsolicited sacrifices to assist him; and that the soldiery entertained an idea that he could not be beaten.

During this time General Ramirez had drawn from distant garrisons nearly two thousand men to act against Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, who could now only master four hundred effective men, about the same number being placed *hors de combat* by ague.

* The coast of Peru between Ocoña and Iquique is called *Los Puertos Intermedios*, or, the intermediate ports.

Previous to the expiration of the armistice, Colonel La Hera advanced from Santiago de Machaca with one thousand royalists, and took possession of Moquegua on the 10th of July. This breach of faith he alleged to be in retaliation for Lord Cochrane's having taken, from the port of Ilo, a quantity of wheat, Spanish property, during the suspension of hostilities; and upon the unfounded pretext of not having a sufficiency of provisions for the support of his soldiers at Santiago de Machaca, the position he occupied.

On the 15th of July, Colonel La Hera announced officially the recommencement of hostilities. Colonel Miller drew in his scattered detachments. His sick and stores were sent to Arica. The three miserable craft left at Ilo were also ordered to proceed to the same place. They made the attempt, but being unable to beat to windward, ran down to leeward, and were seen no more at the *Puertos intermedios.*

On the evening of the 19th, Miller sent off his infantry from Tacna towards Arica. Ten of the patriots could not be removed from the hospital. When he went to take leave of them, and to supply them with a few dollars, the poor fellows wept bitterly, and assured their commander they would die faithful to the cause.

At two A. M. on the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, with the cavalry, followed the infantry. Three hours afterwards the royalists entered Tacna. The inhabitants felt deeply the departure of the patriots. They continued their kind offices to the last, and every soldier was shaken by the hand at

least twenty times as they filed out of the town on the Arica road.

The tradesmen who had been employed by the patriots shouted their *vivas*, and proceeded to hide themselves in the valley, in order not to be embargoed to work for the royalists. The expectation was that Miller would fight; and he kept up this necessary illusion so completely, that the officer next to him in command was not aware of the real intention to embark.

The patriot division, after a harassing march of eleven leagues in thirteen hours, over a hot desert of sand, arrived at Chacalluta, and bivouacked on the bank of a rivulet.

Colonel La Hera, fully persuaded that Lieutenant-Colonel Miller intended to make a resolute stand, halted for twenty-four hours at Tacna to refresh his men. This delay gave time to the patriots to secure the means of retreat by sea. Arrangements had been secretly made for a retreat to the Sierra, in case an embarkation could not be accomplished. The hopes entertained by the patriots of a retreat by sea were founded upon the casual presence of four merchant-vessels in the roadstead of Arica, which they calculated upon getting possession of either by persuasion or force.

The manner in which transports were obtained will show how the course of events may sometimes be changed by a trifling incident. Previous to Lieutenant-Colonel Miller's arrival, the governor of Arica had, with very good intentions, sent two or three soldiers aboard a very fine North American schooner, of three

hundred tons, to secure her. The master, disliking the embargo, got ready to slip his cable and put out to sea, intending to land the soldiers when and where it suited his convenience. Being informed of the circumstance, upon entering Arica, Miller instantly went on board unaccompanied. He offered the most liberal terms, which were pertinaciously rejected. This refusal rendered the services of the other three vessels unavailable, as they could not have taken off the whole of the troops. During an animated conversation, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, as he paced the quarter-deck, recognised some men amongst the ship's company who had formerly served with him in the Chileno squadron, and who were evidently attending with deep concern to what was passing. It happened that the seamen in the Pacific, whether British or North American; whether serving in men-of-war or in merchant vessels, had always evinced the liveliest interest in the successes of the English leader. It was a feeling which produced an important effect at the present critical juncture. He turned round to them and made a short address, which proved sufficient. They all answered his appeal by an animated declaration, that "a countryman *hard pushed* should not be forsaken." After some unavailing remonstrances on the part of the master, he indignantly threw up the command and went on shore. The chief mate prepared to follow, but was prevailed upon to take charge of the vessel. Thus were the patriots fortunately relieved from the necessity of contending with the most fearful odds.

When the patriots landed at Arica in May, the

inhabitants were decided royalists. The pillage of the town by the sailors of the squadron augmented the political feeling into a deadly hatred. Amongst the most violent was the young and beautiful wife of the late royalist governor, Colonel Gago. Her house had been stripped; even her piano-forte was taken on board; and she herself left without a change of apparel. She was subsequently often heard to say that she should only die happy if she could soak her handkerchief in the blood of an insurgent. However, the general good conduct of the officers and men of the division of the patriot army produced, in time, a complete revolution of opinion. Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which they re-entered Arica, the inhabitants came forward with the greatest good will, and assisted in the embarkation. They sent a thousand loaves of bread, and a proportionate quantity of fresh meat, for the use of the sick. Some of the most steadfast adherents to the king sent refreshments of coffee, chocolate, &c. to Lieutenant-Colonel Miller during the night, whilst, knee-deep in surf, he superintended the difficult embarkation. Only three or four men could be conveyed at a time upon each *balsa* to the launches, which could not with safety approach nearer to the beach then twenty or thirty fathoms. At five P. M. on the 21st, the royalists were reported to have arrived within four leagues.

The shipment of the troops was retarded and rendered more difficult by a hundred emigrants with their baggage. The latter, as well as all those who had recently adopted the patriot cause, were particularly

anxious to be the first on board. The operation became more complicated by the necessity of sending wood, water, and provisions on board at the same time. Fifty bullocks were killed, skinned, cut up on the beach, and shipped before morning. This was another night of very hard work; but, with the valuable assistance of Mr. William Cochran, an eminent English merchant, and the cordial co-operation of the inhabitants, every difficulty was overcome, and the last launch pushed off only a few minutes before the royalists appeared and formed upon the beach.

Miller sent a boat on shore with a flag of truce, to request that the sick left at Tacna should be treated with humanity. Colonel La Hera sent a polite answer, paying some compliments on the discipline of the patriot force, and giving an assurance that the few independent soldiers in the hospital should be attended to in preference to his own men.

At two P. M. on the 22d, the vessels weighed anchor and stood to the northward.

The good conduct of the patriotic division has been mentioned. Amongst the officers who distinguished themselves for zeal and valour were Captains Videla, Marure, Plaza, Hind, Carreño *, and Aramburn †, Lieutenants Hill †, D. Vicente Suares ‡, La Tapia, and Colonel Landa § of the militia. Dr. Don Jose Lazo, a lawyer of superior talents, acted as *auditor de guerra*, and performed important services as a legal adviser.

* Killed at Ayacucho.

† Taken prisoners after the battle of Moquegua, and drowned at sea on the passage to Chiloe.

‡ Killed in an affair of out-posts, near Lima, in 1824.

§ Taken prisoner after the battle of Moquegua, and shot by the royalists.

CHAPTER XV.

Pisco re-occupied.—Ildefonso.—a Peruvian Meg Merrilies.—Copari.—Caguachi.—Character of Santalla.—General San Martin enters Lima.—Atrocities of the royalists.—Independence proclaimed.—San Martin becomes protector.—Decrees.—Canterac returns to Callao—retreats again—is pursued.—Puruchuco.—Quiros.—Montoneros.

It was Lieutenant-Colonel Miller's intention to have landed at Quilca, and to have marched rapidly upon Arequipa, which city was left unguarded, as Ramirez had sent the garrison to Arica: but the wind was so boisterous that it was impossible to effect a landing in the bad port of Quilca, and having only three days' provisions and water on board, he was unable to wait until the weather moderated. Ignorant of the situation of General San Martin, he took upon himself to direct his course once more to Pisco. He entered the roadstead after dark on the 1st of August, landed, and, before daylight on the 2d, took possession of the town. Fifty royalist cavalry, after exchanging a few shots, galloped off.

He detached small parties in every direction to procure horses and mules, to mount a company in pursuit of the garrison of two hundred men, commanded by Colonel Santalla, who had seized upon every horse and mule, not hidden away by the owners.

Amongst the casualties of this period was the loss

of a negro youth, whose death should not go unrecorded. His condition was indeed lowly; but a noble mind is not restricted to colour or to station.

Ildefonso was born a slave at Chincha, near Pisco. He entered the patriot service when Lieutenant-Colonel Miller landed the year before, and shortly after became his servant. He brought himself first into notice by his shrewdness in discovering, and boldness in passing fords, where great skill in horsemanship and dexterity in throwing the *lasso* are sometimes the only means of saving the foremost to attempt the ford from being carried away by the torrent. Ildefonso was engaged in every affair that occurred in the *Intermedios* in the year 1821. He possessed all the good qualities of a soldier, being bold, obedient, and cleanly. To a tall and finely proportioned form, equal to any fatigue, and to any enterprise, were added a mild expressive countenance; and so pleasing were his manners, that he was as much beloved by his comrades, as he was admired by all for his extraordinary intrepidity. Trust-worthy, and unceasing in his endeavours to please, nothing could ruffle the serenity of his temper but to see another person wait upon his master, at whose side he was constantly to be found in moments of danger. At the affair of Mirabe, Miller ordered him to the rear, under pretence of giving him charge of his horses. "No, sir," was the reply; "where there is danger, there will I be: where my master dies, there dies Ildefonso." *No, señor; donde hay peligro, ahi estaré yo; donde muere mi amo, ahi moriré Ildefonso.*

The brave negro lad deserved a better fate than

that which now befell him. He had been sent into Pisco in disguise to acquire information, and, having delayed his return from the town until daybreak, he was pursued by the Spanish cavalry. Unable to reach the patriot column that was advancing, he threw himself into the sea to avoid falling into the hands of his pursuers, who, calling upon him to surrender, received for answer that he would rather die a thousand deaths in the cause of *la patria* than again obey a Spaniard. The royalists then fired, and shot him through the neck. They themselves were made prisoners a few days afterwards, and related the last expressions of Ildefonso, whose body was washed ashore the next day. It was consigned to the grave with military honours, amidst the deep regrets of his comrades.

Notwithstanding the enthusiastic exertions of the inhabitants, and the favourable disposition of the landed proprietors for twenty or thirty miles round, three days elapsed before the requisite means of transport could be obtained. In the interval, a *requa*, or drove of fifty mules, arrived at Chincha from Lima. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller gave an order to press them for the service; upon which the owner, a lady on the wrong side of fifty, whose hale and not unhandsome dark countenance and commanding figure might well become a queen of the gypsies, presented herself to the colonel, and, with the imposing air of a *Meg Merrilies*, displayed a passport and protection from General San Martin, who had entered Lima just before she quitted it. On the colonel's telling her that circumstances rendered it impossible to respect

the general's safe-conduct, she pompously exclaimed, that whoever could act in defiance of that great man's signature must be either the devil himself, or a wretch who could never hope to reach the gates of heaven. The patriot commander's determination to pursue the enemy could not be shaken by the eloquence, or denunciations, of the venerable dame, who was neither very choice in the selection of her terms of reproach, nor very sparing in their application. He felt compelled to take her mules, holding out a hope that they would be restored at Ica. The detachment set out, each soldier mounted on a mule. The wary old lady accompanied the party, grumbling most wofully, but determined not to lose sight of her animals. She certainly had reason to complain of her ill fortune, and to bewail her blighted prospects. She explained to the colonel that the object of her long journey had been to purchase brandy at Pisco, which at that time was very scarce in Lima, in consequence of the long investment of that place by the patriots. She might, at that moment, have procured it at eight dollars the jar, and, providing she had been the first speculator to enter Lima, would have sold it for eighty. The prospect of losing such a golden opportunity was ill calculated to reconcile her to the forcible seizure of her mules.

The distance from Pisco to Ica is fourteen leagues: the last ten are over a burning desert of very loose sand, thinly interspersed with clumps of palm trees.

The royalists retired from Ica as the patriots approached. The latter were enthusiastically received

on the evening of the 5th of August, as they passed through, in pursuit of the fugitives. Santalla, already mentioned in describing the capture of Valdivia, had taken the route to Palpa, twenty-five leagues south of Ica. Only three hours were allowed for the patriots to rest at Garganta, two leagues beyond Ica, during which interval some fresh horses and mules were procured. They then continued the chase across the sandy desert, sixteen leagues, to Changuilla. At midnight on the 6th, the troops halted in the desert. For the purpose of protecting themselves against the heavy dews, each man excavated a sort of shallow grave, and lay down in it, and then scraped the sand over his person, leaving only his head above ground, which he wrapped up in his *poncho*. As it was important to observe the strictest secrecy; smoking was forbidden, lest the small twinkling lights should accidentally discover their approach to the enemy. The lady was the only person permitted to indulge in the solace of a cigar before she decorously tucked herself into a bed of sand, amidst the surrounding group of soldiers and muleteers.

Thus as it were buried alive, all slept as comfortably as if reposing on a bed of down, and so soundly that at daybreak it was difficult to rouse them from their delicious slumbers. The morning was foggy, as is very usual in these regions. They had marched about two leagues, when, the sun suddenly dispelling the mist, they discovered that, instead of advancing, they had retraced their route of the previous night. To prevent the recurrence of similar mistakes, from that

time, whenever they halted at night, they took the precaution to pile their muskets in such a way as to point out the proper direction.

The patriots reached Changuilla, on the 7th, at night, and cut off the retreat of Santalla, by the *direct* road, to Arequipa, from Palpa, where he was halting, unconscious of the approach of the patriots.

On the 8th, Santalla, perceiving the patriot party, retired with precipitation to the mountains; but Colonel Miller having already communicated with the Moruchuco Indians, they rose *en masse*. The sides and summits of the mountains were covered with these Indians, and the air resounded with their yells and war-whoops.

Santalla could not escape by the road leading to Guancavelica with such enemies in front, and he could not return by the road he came without fighting with the party at his heels. At Copari, seven leagues from Palpa, a little skirmishing took place: a few of the royalists were killed, seventy or eighty made prisoners, and the rest took to a mountain so difficult of access, that the patriots, being unable from fatigue to climb it, returned to Palpa by the valley through which they had advanced. Miller proceeded from Palpa back to Ica; but before he set out he detached Captains Plaza and Carreño, with twenty-three men mounted on fresh horses, in pursuit of Santalla, who had in all probability once more gained the road leading to Arequipa. No more men could be sent forward, the rest being in a state of fever, in consequence of the late fatiguing marches. At midnight Captain Plaza arrived at Caguachi (three

leagues from Nasca), where he found ninety-six royalists, with their sentinels all sound asleep in a *corral*. They were so worn out with fatigue that hallooing was not enough to awaken them. The patriots fired a volley, killed twelve, and wounded as many more. Amongst the latter was Lieutenant-Colonel Rada, a very brave Spaniard. Fifteen officers and sixty-seven rank and file were taken prisoners. The timid Santalla, and a few attendants, were the only persons who escaped; and this he effected in consequence of having taken the precaution of sleeping at a distance from his party. They galloped off at the sound of the first alarm. For this purpose their horses were kept saddled, and the bridles attached to the arms of the sleepers.

The *Iqueños* were so much exasperated with the troops of Santalla that many went out from Ica to waylay and murder the prisoners; but as they did not conceal their intentions, measures were taken to frustrate their designs.

During these long, dreary, and fatiguing marches, the aged damsel, already mentioned, rode by the side of Colonel Miller. Her resentful tone soon changed into such a good humour, that she entered into the spirit of the expedition with the enthusiasm of an amazon. She declared that it did not signify *un pito* (a whistle) if all her mules were lost, provided she had the satisfaction to see the patriots triumph. She rode astride, wore large silver spurs, could manage the most restive horse, and was able to throw the *lasso* as dexterously as any of her muleteers. Her voice was louder than a boatswain's, and shrill as

his pipe. The desert frequently rang with the sound, as she hallooed to the men to encourage them. Having accomplished the object proposed, there was no longer any necessity to detain her, and her mules were again put at her free disposal. Colonel Miller presented the good old lady with twenty of those taken from the Spaniards, but she would not accept them. He offered her also a sum of money for the service her mules had done; but she could not be induced to receive any species of remuneration. She said she was amply recompensed by having witnessed the total overthrow of a party of royalists by the "dear soldiers *de la patria.*" She, however, thankfully accepted a letter to General San Martin, certifying her services. When Colonel Miller read it to her, she embraced him with tears of joy, and took leave without repeating a word about the gates of heaven being closed. It is satisfactory to add, that she was lucky enough, notwithstanding her detention, to be the first to arrive with brandy in Lima, where she realized all her expectations. This most active and singular woman of business traded, farmed, reared cattle, and let out *valenciennes* (cabriolets). She was accounted rich, and, though highly disinterested in the above instance, fond of adding to her wealth. Before taking our final leave of her, we will mention a circumstance that occurred in the following year (1822.)

Colonel Miller happened to be riding towards the cantonments of his regiment (at Lomo Largo,

three leagues south of Lima), in company with General Alvarado. The latter perceiving a well cultivated estate on the road-side, asked a countryman, who was passing, to whom it belonged? The man answered, that he was the *major domo* (or steward) of the estate, and that it belonged to Señor Miller. "To whom? to whom?" said Alvarado. "To Señor Miller," rejoined the man; "because my mistress has bequeathed it to him, and when she dies he will be the lawful owner." "And who," said Miller, "is that namesake of mine?" "No other," said the man, "than you yourself, sir: my mistress says she will have no other heir. When she delivered your letter to General San Martin, he received her so kindly, and has treated her so well ever since, that she considers you as the author of her good fortune." Colonel Miller's regiment, stationed within a mile of the estate in question, had been in the habit of sending thither to purchase vegetables, &c. and a good deal of surprise had always been excited by the major domo's invariably declining to receive any payment for them. He told them that his mistress would settle with the colonel for every thing which the officers and men had occasion to send for. The mystery was now cleared up, by the accidental meeting of the major domo as above described.

Having mentioned the royalist Lieutenant-Colonel Santalla more than once, and described his last signal discomfiture, we will now pourtray his character at some length, by way of contrast to that of the good Lima lady (who is still living), and as an exemplification of the evils to which the Peruvians were ex-

posed when the rod of iron was placed in the relentless hand of an unprincipled poltroon.

As commanding officer of the district of Ica, he issued a barbarous circular, calling upon the landed proprietors in that extensive valley to furnish three hundred horses and mules within four hours of the date of the order, in default of which they were to be shot, their houses burned, their estates made desolate, and their families put to the sword*!

Many landowners resided upon their estates, which were at such a distance from the town that it was *impossible* to comply with the requisition within the specified time. But too many patriots had already been put to death; too many women violated by Santalla and his followers; too many old men, and even children, punished with stripes and imprisonment, to leave a doubt that he would hesitate to put his savage threat into execution: in fact, he had taken one step to show that he was in earnest. The *Alcalde* Sorillo, a rich and respectable citizen, had concealed a beau-

* "Commandancia-general del sur,—Los hacendados de este valle, dentro del perentorio, y preciso termino de *quatro horas*, presentarán en casa del Señor Marques de Campo Ameno, tres cientos cavallos y mulas suyas, tomandolas de qual-quiera persona que las tenga sin excepcion alguna, en inteligencia que no verificandolo dentro de dicho termino serán irremisiblemente pasados por las armas, quemadas y taladas sus haciendas, y pasadas à cuchillo sus familias.

"JUAN DE SANTALLA.

"Ica, à las 10 de la mañana de hoy 19 de Julio de 1821.

"Al Señor Don Fulgencio Guerrero."

(TRANSLATION.)

"Commandancy-general of the South,—The landed proprietors of this valley will deliver up three hundred horses and mules at the house of the Marquess of Campo Ameno, within the peremptory and precise time of *four hours*, taking them from any person who may have them, without any exception whatever; it being understood that, in failure hereof within the said term, the defaulters will be immediately shot, their houses pillaged and burned, their estates ravaged, and their families put to the sword.

(Signed) "JOHN SANTALLA.

"Ica, 10 A. M. 19th July, 1821.

"To Don Fulgencio Guerrero."

tiful and favourite horse. This was discovered by Santalla. He immediately ordered Sorillo to be fastened to the *banquillo* (or bench of execution) fixed in the square, preparatory to being shot: but every minute brought fresh intelligence of the nearer approach of the patriots from Pisco. The assembled inhabitants, already disposed to rescue their *alcalde* by force, increased in numbers and boldness. Santalla was only induced by his fears to forego glutting his vengeance, and he hurried away, to provide for his personal safety.

When he first heard that the patriots had landed, he bellowed forth to the assembled people in the square, that if he found out that a single individual communicated with the insurgent leader, he would burn the city, and put every man, woman, and child to death. Upon overhearing this, his wife, a Spanish woman, called out to him from the doorway of the Marquess of Campo Ameno's house, "Santalla, all this ought to be *done*, instead of said. Why not then burn at once a city whose inhabitants are *all* rebels?" It will be presently seen that this fury was reduced to implore upon her knees for the life of her barbarian husband. Santalla was a man of lofty stature, and in strength a giant. He was what is there called double-jointed; and could, with his thumbs and fingers, break a dollar in two, and tear a pack of cards in halves. But his pusillanimity was greater even than his personal strength.

On retiring from Ica, he was informed that the pursuing patriots were only one hundred in number.

His officers remonstrated against a disgraceful flight before such an inferior force. To justify himself in their eyes, he forged a letter, and directed it to himself. It purported to be from a royalist in Ica, stating the insurgents to be above four hundred. He showed the paper to his officers, and they then acquiesced in the propriety of further retreat. This anecdote was related to Colonel Miller by Captain Matafuertes, who was made prisoner at Caguachi, and who declared that the letter was forged in his presence.

In his flight from Caguachi to Arequipa, Santalla escaped being torn to pieces by having recourse to the stratagem of speaking bad Spanish, and passing himself off as a French officer in the patriot service, sent forward to procure quarters and provisions. He had the address to persuade the priest of Yauca to confide to his care a fine horse which *his Reverence* had concealed with great care, for the purpose of presenting it to the first patriot chief who should pass through the parish.

Notwithstanding the disguise which Santalla had assumed, he was recognised at Chaparra, and the inhabitants of the valley having tied his hands and feet, were about to treat him as he deserved; but his life was spared, through the tears and entreaties of his wife, who was in the last stage of pregnancy, and who gave efficacy to her prayers by a liberal distribution of doubloons amongst the poorer people.

Upon his arrival at Arequipa, Santalla was put under arrest for a few days, *on the charge of cowardice*, but it never transpired that he was ever reprimanded for his *cruelties* and *extortions*. The con-

trary appears from his having soon afterwards received the civil appointment of sub-delegate of Arica! The system of shooting patriot inhabitants, and confiscating the property of the wealthy at the caprice of the commanding officer, was too common with the royalists.

Miller, who was now promoted to the rank of colonel, assumed the civil and military government of an extensive district, of which Ica was the centre. His administration is still spoken of by the inhabitants in terms highly honourable to his character. He employed this opportunity in augmenting his military means, and in establishing montoneros, or guerillas, to hover on the flank of the enemy, then in cantonments between Guamanga and Xauxa: but having learned that General Canterac had descended from that position, and that a general action was likely to take place near Lima, he left Major Videla in command at Ica, and set out alone for the capital, where he arrived on the 12th of September.

But before we proceed to describe the collateral events which occurred at this time, it will be necessary to revert to the 24th of June, when hostilities recommenced in the vicinity of Lima, on the expiration of the armistice of Punchauca.

The viceroy, unable to retain possession of the capital, invested as it was by montonero parties which hovered around and cut off regular supplies, abandoned that city on the 6th of July, and the patriots entered it on the 9th, amidst universal acclamations. One division of the royalists under Canterac took the way of Lunaguana, and the other, commanded by the

vice-king in person, that of Yauyos, the destination of both being Xauxa.

During the retreat of the royalists, desertion from their ranks was so frequent, that their generals gave orders that every soldier found a hundred yards from the line of march should be shot, and many were in consequence executed. To increase their difficulties, the Indians rose in favour of the patriots, whilst the *montoneros* hung upon the rear, and cut off all stragglers.

If the liberating army, instead of going, as it did, into cantonments in the dissipated city of Lima, had seconded the efforts of those armed patriotic bands, it can hardly be doubted that the war would have terminated in a very few weeks: whereas, for want of timely energy, unhappy Peru continued to suffer, and her capital and provinces were alternately in the hands of the friends and foes to freedom. Each army, unavoidably oppressive even to its friends, was a scourge to those inhabitants who espoused the opposite side, and each party felt the scourge in turn.

When the viceroy happened to be in Guamanga, a landowner of facetious humour waited upon his excellency, and represented that one party * having eased him of his cash and valuables, and the other party † having taken away his cattle and crop, he humbly besought the viceroy to inform him to what party he ought to deliver over his *skin*, that being all that was left which he could venture to call his own.

The town of Cangallo, two days' march from Guamanga, was burnt by the royalists, and the viceroy

* "*La madre patria.*" † "*El Padre Rey.*"

issued a decree, dated 11th January, 1822, that the walls of the houses should be destroyed, and that the name of Cangallo should henceforth disappear from the list of towns. The villages of Ulcamayo, Huailly, Zancas, and some others, with many estates in the vicinity of Tarma, were burnt. The stores of the silver mines of Pasco were plundered five times by the royalists, and as often by the patriots. The wonder is how the works were kept going at all! In fact, they often stopped, or were worked upon so limited a scale as hardly to be worth the attention of either party.

When General Carratalà retreated from Pasco before the division of Arenales, meeting an Indian on a very fine brood mare, he ordered him to dismount, and to deliver it up. In vain the poor peasant represented that to deprive him of the only animal he had in the world was to take away the chief means of his support. The general was inexorable, the mare was taken, and the injured man followed on foot with the troops. On arriving at the village of Moya, opposite to Concepcion, near Xauxa, the royalist division halted. The Indian, taking advantage of the bustle which prevails when soldiers make good their quarters, suddenly threw himself across the best charger of Carratalà, and galloped off through four thousand people who at that moment crowded the Plaza and the streets. He was pursued to the river close by, and some muskets were discharged at him; but the Indian being well acquainted with the ford, escaped untouched. Several Spaniards dashed into the water after him, and three were drowned. On arriving at the patriot bivouac on the opposite

bank, the Indian received, for Carratalà's charger, a doubloon, and a mare as good as the one of which he had been robbed.

Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien commanded the advanced guard on the following day; and entering the town of Carguancuanga, near the bridge of Iscuchaca, inquired of the priest of the parish, supposing that he could give the most correct information of the enemy: but as he had absconded, O'Brien next asked for the sexton. The Indians pointed in silence to a tree; and, upon approaching it, he beheld the sexton and his wife suspended by the neck from one of the branches. The crime of the unfortunate man was the not being in attendance when one of General Carratalà's officers, on passing through the village, demanded the keys of the church, which he required to quarter his troops in. The crime of the woman was, in not revealing the hiding-place of her husband, which was, however, discovered, and both were immediately hanged. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien saw their nine young children on their knees weeping, and praying to their lifeless parents to come down.

A day or two after this horrible cruelty had been committed, General Carratalà sent a flag of truce, consisting of an officer, a trumpeter, and six privates. As they were passing through Carguancuanga, the inhabitants rose, and put every one of them to death. Their tongues were cut out, their bodies drawn and quartered, and then stuck upon poles.

The viceroy was fortunate enough to reach the valley of Xauxa, where he concentrated his forces. He, as well as Canterac and Carratalà, were still

more fortunate in not having been attacked by General Arenales, whose division consisted of the regiment of *granaderos à cavallo*, and of the battalion of Numancia, Cazadores, Nos. 2, and 7; altogether four thousand three hundred and eighty-four men. With these Arenales re-crossed the Cordillera, and arrived on the Lima side of the mountains on the 26th of July. Thus the patriots abandoned the important provinces of the *Sierra*, of which the royalists took quiet possession, in isolated divisions; and this extraordinary oversight on the part of the patriots compensated the royalists for the loss of Lima.

The viceroy, on his departure from Lima, had left a garrison in the castles of Callao. They were invested by a patriot division under General Las Heras. Lord Cochrane blockaded the port. On the 24th of July, Captain Crosbie cut out, in the most masterly manner, three merchant vessels, and burnt four others. In this affair Captains Morgell and Simpson, of the Chileno navy, particularly distinguished themselves.

On the 26th July, a sortie was made from the castles, but repulsed in the most gallant manner by Major Don Eugenio Necochea, and Captain Raulet. The latter was wounded.

On the 28th of July, the independence of Peru was proclaimed, and the usual oath taken, with great pomp and rejoicings.

On the 12th of August, an attempt to surprise and take the principal castle of Callao (Real Felipè) failed. The royalist General Ricafoite was wounded.

On the 3d of August, General San Martin declared

himself protector of Peru, and assumed the supreme civil and military command. He appointed Don Juan Garcia del Rio, Don Bernardo Monteagudo, and Don Hipolito Unanue, ministers respectively for foreign affairs, for war and marine, and for finance. General Don Juan Gregorio de Las Heras was appointed commander in chief of the army.

The following decrees are given as early specimens of the legislation of the protectorate.

Of the 12th of August, 1821, declaring that the children of slaves born in Peru subsequently to the 28th of July, 1821, should be free.

Of the 15th of August, declaring every individual, naval as well as military, who sailed from Valparaiso in the liberating expedition, to be considered as belonging to the service of Peru, and to be entitled to a pension, equal to half the amount of his pay, on leaving Chile; such pension to be paid even though the individual should fix his residence in a foreign country.

Of the 27th of August, abolishing the tribute, and forbidding the name of *Indians* to be applied to the aborigines, who were thenceforth to be called *Peruvians*, a term formerly confined to those born in America of Spanish parents, and their descendants.

Of the 28th of August, abolishing the *mita*, and every species of compulsory labour to which the Indians had been subjected.

The establishment of a national library was decreed on the same day.

In the month of October, the Order of the Sun, upon the model of the Legion of Honour in France, was established. It was divided into three classes:

1st, *Fundadores*; 2d, *Benemeritos*; 3d, *Asociados*. To the members of the first class, and to a certain number of each of the other classes, pensions were attached.

This institution was politic, inasmuch as it enabled government to reward military and civil merit, at a cheap rate, although it was evidently a step towards the introducing of principles savouring strongly of monarchy. The mode of conferring the decoration on the military was fair and impartial. A certain number of each who had established the fairest claims were named by a *junta* of general officers. But it might have been better to have deferred the formation of an order of knighthood until the Spaniards were expelled *.

On the 19th December, property valued at 500,000 dollars was granted to twenty general and field officers of the liberating army, as a reward for past services, and was equally divided amongst them. Colonel Miller received 25,000 dollars for his share.

Canterac's division, united with that of Carratalà, entered Xauxa on the 25th of July. The viceroy reached the same place in the beginning of August.

* In 1825 the congress passed a resolution abolishing the order. Although it did not receive the official assent of the executive, it goes far enough to show the narrow views which actuated some of the deputies on the question. It was unjust to attempt to deprive men of a decoration given for past services, and it was indelicate towards members of the order, who had called these very deputies into political existence, by services performed when many of them were languishing in obscurity, and groaning, in comparative insignificance, under the Spanish yoke.

One great cause of offence was, that the honour was almost exclusively restricted to those who had espoused the cause of independence, from principle, at an early period of the contest, and before it became *the safe side of the question*. Those who had done nothing to earn the distinction could not bear the sight of it when bestowed upon others.

As to the legality of the absolute abolition of the order, congress had no more power to pass laws having the retroactive effect of taking away from members the decorations and pensions, than they have to deprive them of medals given for victories, unless indeed that congress assumed the power of the Turkish divan; a fault it was not entirely free from when its labours were confined to petty legislation.

On the 24th of August, Canterac marched back from Xauxa, with 3000 infantry and 900 cavalry; and, taking the road of San Mateo, arrived on the 9th of September in sight of San Martin, encamped on the *hacienda* called Mendoza, a mile from the capital, on the Arequipa road.

The object of Canterac was to attack the patriots, and to succour the castles of Callao. He had probably been encouraged by information transmitted by Spaniards from Lima, as to the state of the patriot army; the composition and appearance of which was any thing but favourable, although it then exceeded seven thousand in number. When Canterac beheld them strongly posted behind mud walls, and supported in the rear by the population of Lima, many of which were on horseback, armed with sabres, knives, pikes, &c. he deemed it more prudent to pass on between Lima and the sea-shore, and to take shelter under the guns of Callao on the afternoon of the 10th.

The patriots changed their position, and took up another equally strong at Mirones, a mile from Callao, extending half a mile in length, and intersected by the Lima road.

General San Martin has been severely censured for not attacking the royalists upon this occasion: but when it is considered that many of his troops consisted of raw recruits, perhaps it may be allowed that he acted wisely. The royalists, on the contrary, were veteran soldiers, and well disciplined. It is curious that some of the patriot chiefs most loud in condemning the inaction of the protector were those

who had let pass the most brilliant opportunities to annihilate the royalists when scattered in the Sierra, as also when Canterac shortly afterwards retreated from Callao towards Xauxa.

On the 14th of September, Colonel Miller was appointed to the command of 700 men chosen from the light companies of the liberating army, to act as a column of observation, and to be in readiness to move at a moment's warning.

On the 15th this party made a lateral movement, in consequence of Canterac having commenced a retreat. He, however, having reached the mouth of the river Rimac, half a league from Callao, suddenly countermarched; and the light companies, under Colonel Miller, returned to their position at Mirones. The colonel at this time suffered so much from ague that he was obliged to be carried into Lima, where the unremitting care and kindness of the Baroness of Northenflidtch in two days restored him to health.

In the night of the 17th, Canterac effected his escape across the Rimac at Bocanegra, leaving General La Mar in the castles with three days' provisions, to make the best terms he could. General Las Heras, with the liberating army, was ordered to pursue the royalists, but to avoid a general action. After advancing to the estate called Los Cavalleros, nine leagues from Lima, Las Heras gave over further pursuit. Colonel Miller's division, now consisting of 700 infantry, 125 cavalry and 500 montoneros, were not permitted to follow up until 9 A.M. on the 20th. During this long and apparently uncalled for halt of ten hours, his men were without

provisions, and were allowed to march onwards with empty haversacks.

General Las Heras did not attack the enemy; and many of the chiefs appeared to be less eager to prosecute hostilities than to indulge in the gayeties of Lima, where every officer and soldier had been well received, and where each had formed friendships and attachments he was anxious to renew.

A march of three leagues brought Colonel Miller with the light division to Macas, where they dined upon the sheep which the royalists left behind ready prepared for cooking. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien and Captain Vidal skirmished with the rear guard: the latter was wounded. One hundred royalists deserted to the patriots in the course of the day's march.

It appeared that Canterac had prevailed upon his men to quit the walls of Callao, under the persuasion that they were to be led against the patriots, so soon as they had cleared the country intersected by the mud fences. He then promised them victory, and a return to the capital. But when the men ascertained, beyond a doubt, that their destination was for the cordillera, such were the attractions of Lima that discontents arose, and a mutiny was prevented only by the active energy of Valdez, Loriga, and other royalist chiefs, and by shooting an officer and nine rank and file. At 5 P.M. the infantry marched three leagues, and bivouacked at the foot of the Cuesta of Puruchuco. Colonel Miller having ridden in the dark a quarter of a mile in front of his column, suddenly met six Spanish deserters, who, supposing him to be a royalist officer were preparing to despatch him:

but upon his challenging them, they luckily perceived, by his accent, that he was no royalist, and gave themselves up. They described General Canterac to be a league in advance, about half way up the mountain. With the montoneros and half a dozen trumpeters the royalist army might have been put into commotion, if not dispersed; but the montoneros had been unaccountably ordered to the rear from Macas, and the cavalry and infantry were too much fatigued to undertake the double duty of alarming the enemy at night, and of performing long marches in the day. Indeed, so tired were they that not a man could have advanced a mile farther.

At daybreak of the 22d the light division began to ascend the fatiguing road over the *Cuesta*, or mountain side, of Puruchuco of two leagues in height; upon the summit of which was seen the royalist rear-guard. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien was sent forward with a few cavalry, and the company of Numancia. He skirmished for about an hour; but three royalist battalions having advanced to the support of the rear-guard, O'Brien was compelled to fall back on the patriot division, which was drawn up so as to defend a pass. They remained in this position, all night expecting to be attacked; but the royalists continued their retreat.

The montoneros having been permitted to rejoin, Colonel Miller with these, a company of the battalion No 7, and the cavalry, marched, on the morning of the 22d, to the village of Puruchuco, situated in a recess on the eastern side of the mountain. From a high hill the patriots saw the royalists, in Huaman-

tanga, a small town on the crest of an eminence two leagues from Puruchuco.

The montoneros were sent to the front, whilst the cavalry and infantry bivouacked in some pasture grounds. Amongst the luxuries of Puruchuco, two loaves of bread were procured, and were an unusual treat. The rest of the division was marched back to Macas, as it was not without risk to have the whole light division unsupported so near the royalist army, which showed no disposition to move from Huamantanga.

On the 23d, Colonel Miller rode to within five hundred yards of Huamantanga to reconnoitre. He saw the enemy formed, as if in perfect readiness to make some movement. He rode back to Puruchuco; formed his company; and placed the montoneros dismounted in the ravines of the mountain side.

At two P. M. the royalists rapidly descended with the greater part of their force, consisting of the first battalion of the regiment imperial; second battalion of the 1st regiment; one hundred dragoons of the union regiment; and their *granaderos à cavallo* of the guard, in all two thousand men. The montoneros were driven in, and Miller was expelled from his strong position, with the loss of fifteen killed, twenty-five wounded, and six missing. The Spaniards, in their official accounts, reckon the loss of the patriots at fifty in killed alone, and their numbers at five hundred infantry; whereas there were only one hundred and twenty-one regulars, all raw troops, and many of them boys from fourteen to seventeen years of age. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien,

with a small party of infantry, by a well-directed fire, kept the royalists in check, and enabled the patriots to make an orderly retreat. O'Brien and Miller were more than once on the point of being made prisoners. They were saved by the goodness of their horses, and galloped down declivities that, at another time, they would hardly have descended on horseback at a walk. Lieutenant-Colonel Davalos, commanding the montoneros, behaved exceedingly well, as did Captain Prieto of the battalion No. 7. The patriots reached Macas at midnight, when Miller had the mortification to find that his next in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Capa Rosa, a Spaniard, had retired two leagues farther than he had orders to do.

Finding his division insufficient in numbers to continue an effectual pursuit, Colonel Miller ordered it to Lima, with the exception of thirty picked dragoons. With these, and some montoneros, he and O'Brien marched on the 24th again to the front by a different route. They bivouacked the first night by the side of a stream, flowing through a few fertile fields in a grand and beautiful ravine.

On the 25th they joined a montonero party, commanded by a chieftain named Quiros; a man of great natural abilities, tried courage, and of extraordinary tact in command. Had he received a proper education, he must have become a shining military character. He had been, not long before, a captain of banditti, and had been publicly whipped, on coming out of jail for the fourth time.

His party consisted of men of lawless habits, wearing long beards, and dressed in the most grotesque

manner. Halting at night, it was curious to hear the conversation of these fellows seated in groups around their fires. One avowed having committed seventeen murders; another having strangled a woman of seventy, and violated her daughter. Almost every one related some deed of darkness. As most of them had been followers of Quiros in his former capacity, he preserved the most absolute authority, in spite of the familiarity which subsisted: and this party, one hundred and fifty strong, was the most daring and efficient of the montoneros. Quiros was afterwards killed in action near Pisco. His wife fell fighting at his side at the same time.

On the 26th, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien proceeded towards Canta with the montoneros of Davalos. Miller, still suffering from ague, remained behind, in company with Quiros and his delectable associates.

The *quebrada* or ravine was most romantic. The grandeur of the mountain sides, studded with overhanging rocks; the torrent which foamed below; the huts at different elevations, in the midst of cultivated patches; and the narrow zig-zag paths leading to them, imparted a picturesque air of mountain magnificence, whilst its loneliness, and the *Newgatonian* character and conversation of those around, gave a depth of interest equal to its novelty.

On the 27th, Colonel Miller ordered two montonero parties across the cordillera in observation of the enemy, who passed it on the 25th. One of them found the corpse of General Sanchez, who had been left in the rear by the retreating royalists, and who expired in a hut by the road-side. Sanchez was the

officer who treated Miller with harshness at Talcahuano in 1818. Having no further object to induce him to remain in front, and the bracing air of the mountain having driven away his ague, he took leave of the montonero chieftains, Davalos and Quiros, and, on the 28th, returned to Lima, where he reported for cowardice the Lieutenant-Colonel Capa Rosa, who soon afterwards passed over to the royalists.

Although the pursuit, by the light division, was not altogether successful in its object, it accomplished the taking of three hundred head of oxen, some horses and mules; obliged Canterac to destroy his military stores; and facilitated the desertion of above one thousand royalists, in spite of the exertions and severities of the chiefs.

General San Martin has been greatly blamed for remaining before Callao with a single battalion (No. 4) and thirty cavalry, instead of placing himself at the head of the forces sent to molest the royalists in their retreat. The protector assigned as a reason, that he thought it necessary to preserve the direct communication opened with General La Mar, governor of Callao, in order to prevent Lord Cochrane from obtaining possession of the castles, upon which it is said his lordship intended to hoist the Chileno flag, in opposition to the views and policy of the protector. A misunderstanding had existed for some time, and, without entering into the merits of conflicting statements, we shall notice the incident which rendered the breach irréparable. The admiral made a claim

First. For arrears due to the squadron.

Secondly. A bounty equal to one year's pay for each individual of the squadron, agreeably to the promise made before sailing from Valparaiso.

Thirdly. Fifty thousand dollars, which had been promised to the seamen, in the event of their taking the Esmeralda; and

Fourthly. One hundred and ten thousand dollars, the estimated value of the frigate.

The protector contended, that the Chileno government was alone responsible for the first and fourth claim. He admitted the justice of the second and third, but required to have time allowed him to liquidate them. The admiral was highly dissatisfied with this answer. In the mean time, the royalist army approached the walls of Callao, when, as a matter of precaution, the coined and uncoined treasure belonging to government, as well as to private individuals, was removed from the Lima mint to transports lying at Ancon. The admiral sailed there, and seized the treasure to pay the squadron. His lordship stated the treasure so seized to have belonged to government, or to have been contraband, that is, silver sent on board unaccompanied by a document to prove the embarkation duty had been paid, and that all amounted to two hundred and five thousand dollars. The protector, on the other hand, asserted that a great part of it was private property, and that the total sum was above four hundred thousand dollars. Lord Cochrane returned to the bay of Callao.

The investment of the fortress presented the unfortunate spectacle of two chiefs, who ought to have

acted in unison, offering terms separately to a third party, equally hostile to both. Callao surrendered on the 21st of September to the protector, upon terms highly favourable to the besieged. Colonel Don Tomas Guido was appointed governor of the castles.

On the 26th of the same month, the protector transmitted to Lord Cochrane a copy of that part of his private instructions, from the Chileno government, which authorized San Martin, as commander-in-chief of the liberating expedition, to employ *(disponer)* the whole, or any part, of the squadron as he might deem most expedient. In virtue of these powers he ordered the admiral, and the vessels under his command, to leave the coast of Peru. His lordship sailed, shortly afterwards, for California.

CHAPTER XVI.

Peruvian legion.—Patriot and royalist forces.—Supreme delegate.—Lord Cochrane sails to California.—Critical situation.—Spanish Ships capitulate.—Lord Cochrane returns to Chile.—Quits the service.—The surprise at Ica.—Battle of Pinchinca.—Interview between Bolivar and San Martin.—Monteagudo banished.—Congress installed.—General San Martin retires from public life.

SHORTLY after the retreat of Canterac, the Peruvian legion of the guard was formed, the chief command of which was given to General the Marquess of Torre Tagle. It consisted of a regiment of hussars, Lieutenant-Colonel Bransden; a troop of horse artillery, Captain Arenales; and a regiment of infantry, Colonel Miller. From the deserters from the enemy he selected forty good non-commissioned officers, and from two to three hundred privates. An equal number of mulattos and mestizos were soon recruited at Lima, and six hundred Indians were sent from the interior. The regiment was to consist of two battalions, each of eight companies of one hundred and fifty rank and file. The colonel was permitted to propose his own officers for the approval of the protector; several of the most active and intelligent of whom had before served under Miller's orders, and now joined him, besides many of the distinguished youths of the capital. The organization of his regiment became a favourite object with Miller, who studi-

ously endeavoured to give to his regiment a national character; and he succeeded in the attempt to infuse into it an *esprit de corps* which it ever after retained. The uniform was blue with red facings, white edging and red lace. The grenadier company had high bearskin parade caps; the light company had caps similar to those worn by English riflemen, and the other companies the French chakos.

The hussar regiment of the legion was composed of four squadrons, or eight troops: each troop consisted of one hundred rank and file. The uniform was similar to that of the English hussars.

The troop of artillery was composed of one hundred and twenty rank and file, with five four-pounders, and one four-and-a-half inch howitzer. The uniform was similar to that formerly worn by the British horse artillery.

The retreat of Canterac, the capitulation of Callao, and the departure of Lord Cochrane for California in quest of two Spanish frigates and a corvette, gave the protector an opportunity to consolidate his government, and to take steps for the termination of the war.

The royalists were few in number; not cordial in council, and depressed by gloomy anticipations. The protector had above eight thousand men in the vicinity of Lima. Half of this force, if properly led on, would have been sufficient to have driven the last Spaniard beyond the Peruvian frontier. But unfortunately, the pleasures of a luxurious capital had taken such hold on the minds of the chiefs and others, that, when the march of some battalions had been determined upon, obstacles were raised, and pre-

tences fabricated for delay. If such irregularities, and want of zeal, had been punished in one or two principal instances, San Martin might not have had to pay the penalty of indecision, by feeling compelled to retire from public life when his fame was at its zenith. Perhaps he might have avoided the latter alternative if he had thrown off the shackles which bound him to the *Logia*, an institution already described, and which, at this time, pointedly supported the malcontents of the liberating army in every intrigue directed against the power of the protector.

When *chiefs* become remiss in the performance of duty, and inattentive to the claims and comforts of their men, it is no wonder that the junior officers become lukewarm, and the soldiers discontented.

The population of Lima, which received the independent army with so much enthusiasm, grew tired of their liberators, in proportion as discipline relaxed; nor could balls and entertainments prevent the growth of discontent. Lima began to feel severely the burden of an army kept unemployed, while an enemy, whom the patriot chiefs affected to despise, retained quiet possession of the interior.

Although the South Americans profess to be animated by a republican spirit, they in general retain a strong bias towards some of the attributes of monarchy. Peru has the Order of the Sun, Chile the Order of Merit, and Colombia that of Liberators. All these confer privileges on their members, and are held in high estimation.

Military rank, always so much coveted, was eagerly

sought for and obtained by men of property, whose principal merit consisted in their having joined the cause of independence. It might perhaps have been politic to have bestowed nominal rank upon persons of this description, but they ought not to have been placed in situations for which they were glaringly incompetent. Disastrous results attended this lamentable oversight of the protector.

The protector having agreed to meet General Bolivar, president of Colombia, at Guayaquil, delegated his civil and military powers to the Marquess of Torre Tagle, who was in consequence named *Supremo Delegado* on the 19th of January, 1822. General San Martin sailed from Callao on the 8th of February, and, touching at Truxillo, learned that the visit of Bolivar had been postponed. San Martin returned to Lima on the 3d of March, but Torre Tagle retained his post of supreme delegate, as San Martin still intended to proceed to Guayaquil to hold the projected conference with Bolivar.

Lord Cochrane having, as before stated, sailed, in October, 1821, with the O'Higgins, Valdivia, Independencia, and a small vessel in pursuit of the Spanish squadron, ascertained, at Panama, that it had touched there. This enterprising seaman proceeded in his leaky and inefficient vessels to the coast of California; but learning that the Spanish frigates had not gone in that direction, he returned to the coast of Peru. The dangers and sufferings endured on this cruise have been seldom surpassed. The crazy ships were tossed about in a tempestuous and unfrequented sea, while the ill-paid

and discontented crews, suffering from great scarcity of fresh water and of provisions, were constantly obliged to keep working at the pumps. At one time, after a long calm, when ninety leagues from the nearest land, there only remained as much water as would fill a pipe in the whole squadron. The crews were in a state of consternation at the horrid death which seemed to await them, and which no human efforts could avert. Every eye was lifted towards Heaven; fervent ejaculations were uttered, for, on such trying occasions, there are no unbelievers. The crews were a medley of all religions; but the same thoughts, the same fears, and the same hopes in the all powerful Director of events, pervaded every breast. When the feelings of all were approaching to frenzy and despair—when they had arrived at that pitch of heart-rending agony, of which none, but those who have experienced similar calamities, can form any idea—at this critical period the sky assumed a threatening aspect; the lightning flashed on the horizon; black clouds arose; peals of thunder resounded through the air, and every thing indicated an approaching storm. The drooping spirits of the sufferers revived, and one and all earnestly looked for the speedy approach of the tempest. Dangers which, at other times, would have been dreaded, in such shattered vessels, were now hailed with rapture. Torrents of rain fell, and, as if escaped from shipwreck, the men wept with joy. Every awning and sail that could be made available was spread. It rained in torrents for twenty-four hours, and every cask was filled. The wind, boisterous at

first, soon moderated into a fair steady breeze, and the trials and danger of the sufferers were forgotten.

In the meanwhile the Spanish naval commanding officer, Don José Villegas, fearing to come in contact with the patriot admiral, had made the best of his way from Panama to Guayaquil, where he capitulated to the Peruvian agents in that city on the 15th of February, 1822. One of the frigates and the corvette remained in the river. The other frigate sailed for Callao, where she arrived on the 31st of March. All were delivered up to the Peruvian government. Lord Cochrane arrived in the bay of Callao on the 25th of April, and demanded the vessels as his prizes. The Peruvian government alleged that he had no right to them, and refused to comply with the demand. Some altercation took place, and finally Lord Cochrane sailed for Chile on the 10th of May, 1822 *.

General Don Domingo Tristan had been appointed to the command of Ica, for the purpose of recruiting the patriot forces in that neighbourhood. He took with him two battalions from Lima, and his instructions were, that in the event of the approach of an enemy, however inferior, he was to retire without fighting. Colonel Gamarra was appointed as second in command, to assist in the organization of the new levies, for which he was well qualified. Both these officers had passed over from the Spaniards. Tristan had twice changed sides. He was a worthy country

* In December, 1822, Lord Cochrane received an invitation from the Emperor Don Pedro to take command of the Brazilian navy. On the 19th of January, 1823, the admiral sailed from Valparaiso for Rio Janeiro. (See Appendix G.)

gentleman of large landed property, and had worn the uniform of a colonel of militia.

The royalists, driven to a state of desperation, and unable to augment their almost skeleton corps for want of arms, decided to attempt a *coup de main* against Tristan, whom they calculated upon being able either to surprise or intimidate. Accordingly, on the 26th of March, 1822, General Canterac put himself in motion from the valley of Xauxa at the head of fifteen hundred infantry, six hundred cavalry, and three field-pieces. After a march of above seventy leagues, he arrived, on the 6th of April, at Carmen Alto, within two leagues of Ica. Tristan was completely taken by surprise; he neither knew the numbers of the enemy advancing against him, nor the name of the general who commanded them.

In the evening of the same day Canterac made a detour to the Pisco road, and cut off the retreat of Tristan by placing himself at Macacona, a league and a half from Ica. Tristan, ignorant of the enemy's last movement, commenced his retreat; and at one A. M. on the 7th was attacked whilst on his march. His force dispersed immediately. Canterac took one thousand prisoners, who went to swell the ranks of the royalists; four pieces of artillery, and a great number of horses, mules, and oxen. Lieutenant-Colonel Aldunate, a highly distinguished officer, was wounded and taken prisoner. Major Gumer (a German) was assassinated as he lay wounded on the field by the Spanish Colonel Don Mateo Ramirez. The circumstance of his being a foreigner was the only reason given for this cold-blooded murder.

On the 8th a squadron of lancers arrived near Ica to reinforce Tristan, in total ignorance of his defeat. They had advanced from Chunchanga. They were attacked by Colonel Loriga: ten were killed, and ninety taken prisoners.

The appointment of Tristan to an important command was not creditable to the usual discrimination of the protector. It must have originated in the misplaced hope that promotion and commands bestowed on men of rank who passed over to the patriot cause would encourage other influential people to follow their example, and thus in the end attach all the country to the cause of independence, and settle the question *without bloodshed:* a benevolent motive, but the source of incalculable mischief.

The immediate result of the unfortunate affair of Ica was the capture, not only of three thousand stand of arms thrown away in the flight, but also of a large quantity of spare muskets, sabres, &c. in depôt at Pisco; and for want of which the royalists had been much distressed. The moral effect was to dispel the idea, which until then had been entertained, of the superiority of the patriots; and to throw a damp over the mass of the population, which had cheerfully lent their powerful assistance. Union was restored in the royalist councils, whilst the patriots were distracted by dissensions, and weakened by insubordination.

The only counterbalancing circumstance at this time was the victory of Pinchincha, a mountain of the Chimborazo, at the foot of which stands the city of Quito.

This battle* was won by the Colombian General Sucre, with the assistance of an auxiliary Peruvian division, composed of the battalion, No. 2, the battalion of Piura, and two squadrons of cavalry, sent from Truxillo under Colonel Santa Cruz. It took place on the 24th of May, 1822. The contending forces were about equal, each being from three to four thousand men. Five hundred Spaniards and three hundred patriots were left on the field of battle. The royalists who escaped from the field capitulated. By the event of this battle the independence of Colombia was finally secured.

The brilliant little affair of Rio-Bamba preceded the battle of Pinchincha; and it is worthy of being recorded. Lieutenant-Colonel Lavalle, with his squadron of *granaderos à cavallo* forming part of Colonel Santa Cruz's division, having followed up the enemy closely, found himself unexpectedly much nearer to four hundred of the royalist cavalry than was prudent: but to have attempted a retreat so near such superior numbers would, he knew, have led to a complete dispersion of his men; and he therefore charged with his few followers, and drove the royalist cavalry back upon their infantry with considerable loss. Lavalle was obliged to retrograde; and the royalists, having been reinforced, again advanced. Lavalle, whilst retreating at a trot, ordered his men to wheel about, and then charged the enemy a second time in the most determined and

* No. 2 of Peru bore the brunt of the action. As it began to give way to overwhelming numbers, Colonel Cordova, with two Colombian battalions, came up, and, gallantly charging the royalists, decided the fate of the day. The battalion Albion, commanded by the brave Colonel Mackintosh, distinguished itself particularly in another part of the field.

brilliant manner, killing four of their officers and fifty-two rank and file, and wounding many others, most of whom however escaped under the fire of the infantry. Lavalle was, during his active career, successful in every charge. Captains Bruiz* and Sowersby, Lieutenant Latus, and Cornet Olmos, highly distinguished themselves in this affair, which took place on the 21st of April, 1822. The royalists were so awed by it, and their consequent timidity was so evident, that, no doubt, the event contributed in a great measure to the victory of Pinchincha.

General San Martin again set sail from Callao for Guayaquil, where he met the Liberator Bolivar on the 26th of July, 1822. The interview which took place between these two distinguished characters does not appear to have been very satisfactory. The protector remained at Guayaquil only eight-and-forty hours, and then sailed for Callao, where he arrived on the 21st of August, 1822.

The province of Guayaquil had preserved its independence from the time of its revolution in favour of freedom, and Señor Dr. Don. J. J. de Olmedo, the celebrated poet, and a native of the city, was at the head of the government. But when General Bolivar arrived there on the 14th July, 1822, he declared that Guayaquil belonged to the territory of Colombia, and that it should henceforward be incorporated with that republic. The independent colours of the

* A very gallant Frenchman, and son to the celebrated Admiral Bruiz. He had been page to Napoleon. He met his death by accident in Lima. A younger brother was shot through the heart in an action against the royalists in Chile, and in which he accompanied his elder brother as *an amateur*. The premature loss of these distinguished young men was universally lamented. Bruiz had served in the Russian campaign. Latus, a spirited young Englishman, formerly of the rifle corps, died at Lima of his wounds.

province were consequently replaced by those of Colombia.

During the protector's last absence from Lima, a commotion took place in that capital on the 28th July. The inhabitants, aggrieved by some oppressive measures of the unpopular minister of state, Don Bernardo Monteagudo, assembled in a riotous manner, and demanded through the *cabildo* (municipality) his immediate removal from office; which demand was granted by the trembling Supremo Delegado, who obliged Monteagudo instantly to resign. The military took no part in the affair: on the contrary, they were insulted, though many lawyers and "*doctores*" tampered with them, and gained over to their party some officers who engaged to assist them in case the general-in-chief, Alvarado, should attempt to support the ex-minister. Men in a state of intoxication penetrated into the palace, and insulted the Supremo Delegado.

The people had just grounds for insisting upon the removal of Monteagudo. The harsh and uncourteous tone; the oppressive espionage which he had adopted; the cruel manner in which he had banished many highly respectable individuals, together with his suspected views of establishing a monarchical government contrary to the wishes of the people, all served to render him an object of dislike and mistrust. The commotion was therefore a natural consequence of his despotic administration, supported so feebly by the weak and dissolute Torre Tagle.

Monteagudo was sent to Callao under arrest, and

embarked, not without some risk of assassination from the populace. He sailed for Guayaquil *.

The protector arrived at Lima on the 19th of August, and on the 21st reassumed the supreme command. Agreeably to a former decree, deputies had been elected, and the congress was installed with due formality on the 20th of September, 1822. The protector repaired in state to the hall of the deputies, where, divesting himself of the insignia of supreme power, he declared that, from that moment, congress was installed, and that he resigned all authority into the hands of the representatives of the people. He then withdrew, and immediately set out for his country house at Magdalena. Two hours afterwards a deputation of congress waited upon his excellency to communicate a decree of that body, expressing the gratitude of the Peruvian people, and another conferring upon him the office of generalissimo of the Peruvian forces. General San Martin consented to accept merely the title, but refused the exercise of the command.

General San Martin embarked the same evening at Callao for Chile, leaving a proclamation addressed to the Peruvians. (See Appendix H.)

General San Martin is a native of the Missions on the banks of the river Parana, and is now fifty-two years of age. He is tall, and rather stout than otherwise. He has a dark, pleasing countenance, with large, expressive, and penetrating eyes. His manners are dignified, easy, friendly, and prepossessing. He

* Monteagudo resided in the city of Quito until 1824, when he returned to Peru under the patronage and protection of Bolivar. He was assassinated at Lima in 1825.

writes well, speaks very good French, and understands something of the English language. Although he has had many political enemies, he has always been personally popular. Even when his army has pressed most heavily on the resources of a province, the inhabitants have continued to speak of him with enthusiasm, although some may have disapproved of his measures. In the formation of the government of Peru, as well as previously, he displayed the soundness of his judgment, by selecting men of first rate talent *, such as Jonte, Monteagudo, Guido, Garcia del Rio, and others. If he was sometimes less fortunate in the selection of his military leaders, it could hardly have arisen from want of discernment. With regard to his political bias, it appears that San Martin considered the monarchical form of government as most fit for Peru; but it is the decided opinion of those, who have had good opportunities of forming one, that he never entertained an idea of placing the crown upon his own head, although, it is believed, that he would have willingly assisted a prince, of blood-royal, to mount the throne of Peru.

On the retirement of San Martin, General Don José de la Mar, Don Felipe Antonio Alvarado, (brother to General Alvarado,) and the Count Vista Florida, were named by congress to form an executive, which was called the *Junta Gubernativa.*

The learned and eloquent Luna Pizarro, a native of Arequipa, remarkable for the dignified firmness, and for the political consistency of his character, had

* Their *talent* is alluded to. The arbitrary conduct of one of them has been already mentioned, but it was balanced by eminent services, especially in the early part of the revolution.

been chosen president of the congress. One of the first measures of that assembly was to decree that General San Martin should bear the title of FOUNDER OF THE LIBERTY OF PERU, and enjoy a pension of twenty thousand dollars per annum.

General San Martin having had the misfortune, in 1822, to lose his wife, a young and very charming woman, came to England in the same year. He is now living in Brussels, to complete the education of his only child, a beautiful and accomplished daughter.

APPENDIX.

(A.) Page 33.

Letter from Captain Beaver to Sir Alexander Cochrane.

His Majesty's Ship Acasta, La Guayra, 19th July, 1808.

SIR,

EVENTS of singular importance occurring at present in the province of Venezuela, I have thought it necessary to despatch to you, without loss of time, the late French corvette, Le Serpent, in order that you might, as early as possible, be made acquainted with those which have already occurred, as well as be able to form some opinion of those which will probably follow. The latter port (La Guayra) I made in the morning of the 15th, and while standing in for the shore, with the cartel flag flying, I observed a brig under French colours just coming to an anchor. She had arrived the preceding night from Cayenne with despatches from Bayonne, and had anchored about two miles below the town, to which she was now removing. I was never nearer than five miles to her, and could not have thrown a shot over her, before she was close under the Spanish batteries, and therefore I attempted not to chase; but I claimed her of the Spanish government, as you will perceive by my letter, No. 1. Just before I set out for the Caracas, and presented your despatches, the captain of the French brig returned exceedingly displeased (I was told), having been publicly insulted in that city. About three o'clock I arrived at the Caracas, and presented your despatches to the captain-general, who received me very coldly, or rather uncivilly, observing, that that hour was very inconvenient to him and to me; and that, as I had not dined, I had better go and get some dinner, and return to him in a couple of hours. On entering the city, I had observed a great effervescence among the

people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

I have learned that the French captain, who had arrived yesterday, had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession to the Spanish throne of Joseph Napoleon, and had brought orders to the government from the French emperor.

The city was immediately in arms; ten thousand of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand VII. as their king, which he promised to do the next day; but this would not satisfy them; they proclaimed him that evening, by heralds in form throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house. The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left the Caracas privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for about ten o'clock his person was demanded from the governor by the populace; and when they had learned that he was gone, three hundred followed him on the road, to put him to death. Coldly received by the governor, I was, on the contrary, surrounded by all the respectable people of the city, the military officers included, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England.

Returning to the governor about five o'clock, the first thing I demanded was the delivering to me the French corvette, or at least the permitting me to take possession of her in the roads, in consequence of the circumstances under which she had entered, as stated in my letter to him, No. 1. Both these he positively refused, as well as to take possession of her himself; but, on the contrary, he told me he had given orders for her immediate sailing. I made him acquainted with the orders I had given, to seize her if she sailed, to which he assented; and I at the same time told him that, if she was not in the possession of the Spaniards on my return, I should take her myself. He replied,

that he should send orders to the commandant of La Guayra to fire upon me if I did; to which I simply replied, that the consequence would fall upon him: and I further told him, that I considered his reception of me at Caracas as that rather of an enemy than a friend, while, at the same time, I had brought him information of hostilities having ceased between Great Britain and Spain; and that his conduct towards the French was that of a friend, while he knew that Spain was at war with France. He replied, that Spain was not at war with France: to which I asked him what he would consider as a war, if the captivity of two of his kings, and that taking possession of their capital, was not to be so considered? He only replied, that he knew nothing of it from the Spanish government, and that what your despatches informed him of he could not consider as official.

(B.) Page 52.

It is computed that the Brazilians destroyed in the hostile excursions against the Spanish possessions of Paraguay and the provinces of the river Plata upwards of four hundred towns and villages. These marauders, born of Portuguese, Dutch, French, Italians, and Brazilian women, were called *Mamelucos*. The object of their incursions was to carry off the Guarany and other Indians, whom the Jesuits had succeeded in converting. The captives were led to Brazil, chained or corded in herds like cattle, and there condemned to perpetual labour. The sucking infants were torn from the bosoms of their mothers, and cruelly dashed upon the ground on the way. Those whom disease or age had rendered imbecile were either cut down or shot, as being unequal to the daily march. Many perished from hunger and thirst. It is asserted (*Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*) that in the space of one hundred and thirty years, two millions of Indians were slain or carried into captivity by the *Mamelucos* of Brazil, and that more than one thousand leagues of country, as far as the river Amazon, was stripped of inhabitants. It appears from authentic letters (sent by the catholic king in the year 1609,

September 16) that, in five years, three hundred thousand Indians of Paraguay were carried into Brazil. Pedro de Avila, governor of Buenos Ayres, declared that Indians were openly sold in his sight at Rio Janeiro by the inhabitants of the town of St. Paul; and that six hundred thousand were so sold at Rio Janeiro alone, from the year 1628 to the year 1630.

It does not appear that the acts of the *Mamelucos* were authorized. His most faithful majesty, Joseph I., confesses, in a decree issued on the 6th of July, 1755, and inserted in the new code of Portuguese laws, that many millions of Indians were destroyed, and that very few Indian towns remained, and equally few inhabitants. He adds, that this was occasioned by the enemies of their liberty, contrary to the laws of Portugal. He declares the Indians free, and orders captives to be set at liberty; and likewise other pious kings of Spain and Portugal, his predecessors, prohibited all robbery, sale, oppression, and persecution of the Indians whatsoever, under the same penalties, by repeated laws. But these decrees were seldom or never observed, and governors and other persons who profited from the captivity and sale of the Indians had become too hard-hearted to listen to the feelings of humanity. The barbarity of those men towards the Indians was pourtrayed in lively and faithful colours by the Jesuit father Antonio Vieyra, who preached on the subject at the court of Lisbon in 1662. From attempting to protect the poor Indians in the province of Maranham, he had been banished from Brazil. The royal laws and decrees in favour of the Indians being disregarded in Brazil, the king found it necessary to have recourse to the threats and penalties of the pope. Paul III., Urban VIII., and Benedict XIV., in consequence threatened to excommunicate all who should presume, in the words of the Roman court, to reduce the Indians to servitude; to sell, buy, exchange, or give them away. 'But the rapacity and cruelty of the *Mamelucos* did not always remain unpunished.' They were occasionally attacked and overcome by the Guarany Indians, who at length having been permitted by the Spaniards to carry arms for their defence, almost entirely put a stop to the incursions of the Brazilian marauders.—DOBRIZHOFER'S ABIPONES.

(C.) Page 80.

Declaration of the Independence of the United Provinces of South America.

In the well-deserving and most worthy city of San Miguel del Tucuman, on the ninth day of the month of July, 1816, the ordinary sitting being ended, the congress of the United Provinces resumed its previous deliberations respecting the grand, august, and sacred object of the independence of the inhabitants constituting the same. The cry of the whole country for its solemn emancipation from the despotic power of the kings of Spain was universal, constant, and decided; nevertheless, the representatives carefully dedicated to this arduous affair the whole extent of their talents, the rectitude of their intentions, and the interest with which they viewed their own fate, that of the people represented, and also of their posterity. After mature deliberation, they were asked, whether they considered it expedient that the provinces of the union should constitute a nation, free and independent of the kings of Spain and the mother country? Filled with the holy ardour of justice, they simultaneously answered in the affirmative by acclamations, and then, one by one, successively reiterated their unanimous, spontaneous, and decided votes in favour of the independence of the country, and, in virtue thereof, they concurred in the following declaration:

We, the representatives of the United Provinces of South America, in general congress assembled, invoking the Supreme Being who presides over the universe, in the name and by virtue of the authority of the people we represent, and protesting to Heaven, and to the nations and inhabitants of the whole globe, the justice by which our wishes are guided, do solemnly declare in the face of the earth, that it is the unanimous and indubitable will of these provinces to break the repugnant ties which bound them to the kings of Spain, to recover the rights of which they were despoiled, and invest themselves with the high character of a nation, free and independent of King Ferdinand VII., his successors, and the mother country. In consequence whereof,

the said provinces, in point of fact and right, possess ample and full power to assume for themselves such forms of government as justice requires, and the urgency of existing circumstances may demand. All and each one of them publish, declare, and ratify the same, through us, pledging themselves, under the assurance and guarantee of their lives, property, and honour, to abide by and sustain this their will and determination. Let the same, therefore, be communicated for publication, to whomsoever it may concern; and, in consideration of the respect due to other nations, let the weighty reasons which have impelled us to this solemn declaration be detailed in a separate manifesto. Given in the Hall of our Sittings, signed by our hands, sealed with the seal of the Congress, and countersigned by our secretaries, also members thereof.

(Signed) Francisco Narciso de Laprida, President and Deputy for San Juan.

Mariano Boedo, Vice-President and Deputy for Salta.

Dr. Antonio Saenz, Deputy for Buenos Ayres.

Dr. José Darregueyra, Deputy for idem.

Father Cayetano José Rodriguez, Deputy for idem.

Dr. Pedro Medrano, Deputy for idem.

Dr. Manuel Antonio Acevedo, Deputy for Catamarca.

Dr. José Ignacio de Gorriti, Deputy for Salta.

Dr. Andres Pacheco de Melo, Deputy for Chichas.

Dr. Teodoro Sanchez de Bustamante, Deputy for the city of Jujuy and jurisdiction thereof.

Eduardo Perez Bulnez, Deputy for Cordova.

Tomas Godoy Cruz, Deputy for Mendoza.

Dr. Pedro Miguel Araoz, Deputy for the capital of Tucuman.

Dr. Estevan Agustin Gazcon, Deputy for the province of Buenos Ayres.

Pedro Francisco de Uriarte, Deputy for Santiago del Estero.

Pedro Leon Gallo, Deputy for idem.

Pedro Ignacio Rivera, Deputy for Mizque.

Dr. Mariano Sanchez de Loria, Deputy for Charcas.

Dr. José Severo Malabia, Deputy for Charcas.
Dr. Pedro Ignacio de Castro Barros, Deputy for La Rioja.
Licentiate Geronimo Salguero de Cabrera y Cabrera, Deputy for Cordova.
Dr. José Colombres, Deputy for Catamarca.
Dr. José Ignacio Thomas, Deputy for Tucuman.
Father Justo de Santa Maria de Oro, Deputy for San Juan.
José Antonio Cabrera, Deputy for Cordova.
Dr. Juan Agustin Maza, Deputy for Mendoza.
Tomas Manuel de Anchorena, Deputy for Buenos Ayres.
José Mariano Serrano, Deputy for Charcas, and Secretary.
Juan José Paso, Deputy for Buenos Ayres, and Secretary.

MANIFESTO,

Addressed to all Nations of the Earth, by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, respecting the treatment and cruelties they have experienced from the Spaniards, and which have given rise to the Declaration of their Independence.

HONOUR is a distinction which mortals esteem more than their own existence, and they are bound to defend it above all earthly benefits, however great and sublime they may be. The United Provinces of the river Plata have been accused, by the Spanish government, before other nations, of rebellion and perfidy; and as such also has been denounced the memorable Act of Emancipation, proclaimed by the National Congress in Tucuman, on the 9th of July, 1816, by imputing to it ideas of anarchy, and a wish to introduce into other countries seditious principles, at the very time the said provinces were soliciting the friendship of these same nations, and the acknowledgment of this memorable act, for the purpose of forming one among them. The first, and among

the most sacred of the duties imposed on the National Congress, is to wipe away so foul a stigma, and defend the cause of their country, by displaying the cruelties and motives which led them to the declaration of independence. This indeed is not to be considered as an act of submission, which may attribute to any other nation of the earth the power of disposing of a fate which has already cost America torrents of blood, and all kinds of sacrifices and bitter privations: it is rather an important consideration we owe to our own outraged honour, and the decorum due to other nations.

We wave all investigations respecting the right of conquest, papal grants, and other titles on which Spaniards have usually founded and upheld their dominion. We do not seek to recur to principles which might give rise to problematical discussions, and revive points of argument which have had defenders on both sides. We appeal to facts, which form a painful contrast of our forbearance with the oppression and cruelty of Spaniards. We will exhibit a frightful abyss which Spain was opening under our feet, and into which these provinces were about to be precipitated, if they had not interposed the safeguard of their own emancipation. We will, in short, exhibit reasons which no rational man can disregard, unless he could find sufficient pleas to persuade a country for ever to renounce all idea of its own felicity, and, in preference, adopt a system of ruin, opprobrium, and forbearance. Let us place before the eyes of the world this picture, one which it will be impossible to behold without being profoundly moved by the same sentiments as those by which we are ourselves actuated.

From the moment when the Spaniards possessed themselves of these countries, they preferred the system of securing their dominion by extermination, destruction, and degradation. The plans of this extensive mischief were forthwith carried into effect, and they have been continued without any intermission, during the space of three hundred years. They began by assassinating the monarchs of Peru, and they afterwards did the same with the other chieftains, and distinguished men who came in their way. The inhabitants of the country, anxious to restrain such ferocious intrusion, under the great disadvantage of their arms, became the victims of fire and sword, and were compelled to leave their

settlements a prey to the devouring flames, which were every where applied without pity or distinction.

The Spaniards then placed a barrier to the population of the country. They prohibited, under laws the most rigorous, the ingress of foreigners; and in every possible respect limited that of even Spaniards themselves, although in times more recent the emigration of criminal and immoral men, outcasts, was encouraged; of such men as it was expedient to expel from the Peninsula. Neither our vast though beautiful deserts, formed by the extermination of the natives; the advantages Spain would have derived from the cultivation of regions as immense as they are fertile; the incitement of mines, the richest and most abundant on the earth; the stimulus of innumerable productions, partly till then unknown, but all estimable for their value and variety, and capable of encouraging and carrying agriculture and commerce to their highest pitch of opulence; in short, not even the wanton wickedness of retaining these choice countries plunged in the most abject misery, were any of them motives sufficiently powerful to change the dark and inauspicious principles of the cabinet of Madrid. Hundreds of leagues do we still behold, unsettled and uncultivated, in the space intervening from one city to another. Entire towns have, in some places, disappeared, either buried in the ruins of mines, or their inhabitants destroyed by the compulsive and poisonous labour of working them; nor had the cries of all Peru, nor the energetic remonstrances of the most zealous ministers, been capable of reforming this exterminating system of forced labour, carried on within the bowels of the earth.

The art of working the mines, among us beheld with apathy and neglect, has been unattended with those improvements which have distinguished the enlightened age in which we live, and diminished the attendant casualties; hence opulent mines, worked in the most clumsy and improvident manner, have sunk in and been overwhelmed, either through the undermining of the mineral ridges, or the rush of waters which have totally inundated them. Other rare and estimable productions of the country are still confounded with nature, and neglected by the government, and if, among us, any enlightened observer has attempted to point out their advantages, he has been reprehended by the court, and forced

to silence, owing to the competition that might arise to a few artisans of the mother country.

The teaching of science was forbidden us, and we were allowed to study only the Latin grammar, ancient philosophy, theology, and civil and canonical jurisprudence. Viceroy Joaquin del Pino took the greatest umbrage that the Buenos Ayres Board of Trade presumed to bear the expenses of a nautical school: in compliance with the orders transmitted from court, it was closed; and an injunction besides laid upon us, that our youths should not be sent to Paris to become professors of chemistry, with a view to teach this science among their own countrymen.

Commerce has at all times been an exclusive monopoly in the hands of the traders of Spain, and the consignees they sent over to America. The public offices were reserved for Spaniards, and notwithstanding, by the laws, these were equally open to Americans, we seldom attained them, and when we did, it was by satiating the avarice of the court through the sacrifice of immense treasures. Among one hundred and sixty viceroys who have governed in America, four natives of the country alone are numbered; and of six hundred and two captains-general and governors, with the exception of fourteen, all have been Spaniards. The same, proportionably, happened in the other offices of importance; scarcely, indeed, had the Americans an opportunity of alternating with Spaniards in situations the most subaltern.

Every thing was so arranged by Spain, that the degradation of the natives should prevail in America. It did not enter into her views that wise men should be formed, fearful that minds and talents would be created capable of promoting the interests of their country, and causing civilization, manners, and those excellent capabilities with which the Colombian children are gifted to make a rapid progress. She unceasingly diminished our population, apprehensive that, some day or other, it might be in a state to rise against a dominion sustained only by a few hands, to whom the keeping of detached and extensive regions was intrusted. She carried on an exclusive trade; because she supposed opulence would make us proud, and inclined to free ourselves from outrage. She denied to us the advancement of industry, in order that we might be divested of the means of rising out of misery

and poverty; and we were excluded from offices of trust, in order that Peninsulars only might hold influence in the country, and form the necessary habits and inclinations, with a view to leave us in such a state of dependence as to be unable to think, or act, unless according to Spanish forms.

Such was the system firmly and steadily upheld by the viceroys, each one of whom bore the state and arrogance of a vizir. Their power was sufficient to crush any one who had the misfortune to displease them. However great their outrages, they were to be borne with resignation; for by their satellites and flatterers their frown was superstitiously compared to the anger of God. Complaints addressed to the throne were either lost in the extended interval of those thousands of leagues it was necessary to cross, or buried in the offices at home by the relatives or patrons of men wielding viceregal power. This system, so far from having been softened, all hopes that even time would produce this effect were totally lost. We held neither direct nor indirect influence in our own legislation: this was instituted in Spain; nor were we allowed the right of sending over persons empowered to assist at its formation, who might point out what was fit and suitable, as the cities of Spain were authorized to do. Neither had we any influence over the administration of government, which might, in some measure, have tempered the rigour of such laws as were in force. We were aware that no other resource was left to us than patience, and that for him who was not resigned to endure all, even capital punishment was not sufficient, since, for cases of this kind, torments, new and of unheard-of cruelty, had been invented, such as made nature shudder.

Neither so great, nor so repeated, were the hardships which roused the provinces of Holland, when they took up arms to free themselves from the yoke of Spain, nor those of Portugal, to effect the same purpose. Less were the hardships which placed the Swiss under the direction of William Tell, and in open opposition to the German emperor. Less those which determined the United States of North America to resist the imposts forced upon them by a British king; less, in short, the powerful motives which have urged other countries, not separated by nature from the parent-state, to cast off an iron yoke, and consult their own felicity. We, nevertheless, divided from Spain by an immense sea, gifted with

a different climate, possessing other wants and habits, and treated as herds of cattle, have exhibited to the world the singular example of forbearance amidst degradations, by remaining obedient, when, at the same time, we had the most favourable opportunities of breaking the bond, and putting an end to so unnatural a connexion.

We address ourselves to the nations of the earth, and we cannot be so rash as to seek to deceive them in what they have themselves seen and felt. America remained tranquil during the whole period of the war of succession, and waited the decision of the question then at issue between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, and with a view to follow the fate of Spain. That would have been a favourable moment to redeem herself from so many hardships: but she did not do it; rather she sought to arm and defend herself alone, in order to preserve herself united to the parent state. We, without having direct share or interest in the differences of the latter with other powers of Europe, have equally felt and partaken in her wars; we have experienced the same ravages, and, without repining, we have endured the same wants and privations, brought upon us by her weakness at sea, and the manner in which we were cut off from all communication with her.

In the year 1806 we were attacked. A British expedition surprised and occupied the capital of Buenos Ayres, through the imbecility and unskilfulness of the viceroy, who, although he had no Spanish troops, did not know how to avail himself of the numerous resources offered to him in defence of the town. At the end of forty-five days we recovered the capital, and the British, together with their general, were made prisoners, without the viceroy having had the smallest share in the affair. We implored the government at home to send us such aid as would protect us from another invasion, with which we were threatened; and the consolation transmitted to us was, a revolting royal order, by which we were enjoined to defend ourselves in the best manner we could. In the following year, the eastern bank of the river Plata was occupied by a fresh and stronger expedition, and the fortress of Montevideo was besieged and surrendered. There more British forces assembled, and an armament was formed for the purpose of again attacking the capital, which, in fact, within a few months experienced an assault; but fortunately the heroic

courage of the inhabitants and garrison overcame the efforts of the enemy, and a victory so brilliant compelled him to evacuate Montevideo, and the whole of the eastern bank.

No opportunity more favourable for rendering ourselves independent could have presented itself, if the spirit of rebellion and perfidy had been capable of actuating our conduct, or if we had been susceptible of those seditious and anarchical principles imputed to us. But why recur to pleas of this kind? We could not be indifferent to the degradation in which we lived. If victory at any time authorizes the conqueror to be the arbiter of his own destiny, we could at any moment have secured our own; we had arms in our hands, were triumphant, without a single Spanish regiment among us capable of resistance; and if victory and force do not suffice to establish a right, we had still other more powerful reasons no longer to submit to the dominion of Spain. The forces of the Peninsula were not to be dreaded by us; its ports were blockaded, and the seas controlled by British squadrons. Yet, notwithstanding fortune thus propitiously favoured us, we did not seek to separate from Spain, conceiving that this distinguished proof of loyalty would change the principles of the court, and cause them to understand their real interests.

We miserably deceived ourselves, and were flattered with vain hopes. Spain did not receive a demonstration so generous as a sign of benevolence, but as an obligation rigorously due. America continued to be governed with the same harshness, and our heroic sacrifices served only to add a few pages more to the history of that injustice we had uniformly experienced.

Such was our situation when the Spanish revolution commenced. Accustomed as we were blindly to obey all the arrangements of the Madrid government, we tendered our allegiance to Ferdinand de Bourbon, notwithstanding he had assumed the crown by ejecting his own father from the throne, through the means of a commotion excited in Aranjuez. We afterwards saw that he passed on to France, was there detained with his parents and brothers, and dispossessed of that throne he had just usurped. We beheld that the Spanish nation, every where overawed by French troops, was in a convulsed state; and that illustrious persons, who either governed the provinces with success, or honourably served in the armies, were assassinated by the people, in a state of open mutiny.

That, amidst the oscillations to which the administration of affairs was exposed, distinct governments rose up, each one calling itself supreme, and each arrogating to itself the right of commanding over America in sovereignty. A junta of this kind instituted in Seville was the first that presumed to exact our obedience, and to it the viceroys compelled us to give in our acknowledgment and submission. In less than two months afterwards, another junta, entitled the supreme junta of Galicia, sought from us a similar acquiescence, and sent over to us a viceroy, with the generous threat that thirty thousand men would also come over if it should be necessary! The central junta was next instituted, yet without our having had any share in its formation; we instantly obeyed, and with zeal and efficacy complied with all its decrees. We sent over succours in money, voluntary donations, and aid of all kinds, in order to prove that our fidelity was in no danger, whatever might be the risk to which it was exposed.

We had been tempted by the agents of King Joseph Napoleon, and flattered by great promises of our situation being ameliorated, if we adhered to his party. We were aware that the Spaniards of the highest class and importance had already declared in his favour; that the nation was without armies, and divested of all vigorous guidance and administration, so necessary in moments of dilemma. We were informed that the troops belonging to the river Plata, which had been carried over as prisoners to England after the first expedition of the British here, had been conveyed to Cadiz, and there treated with the greatest inhumanity; that they had been compelled to beg alms in the streets, to avoid dying of hunger; and that, naked and without any relief, they had been sent to fight against the French. Nevertheless, amidst so many urgent and trying causes of complaint, we remained in the same position till Andalusia was occupied by the French, and the central junta dispersed.

In this state of things, an address was published, without date, and signed only by the archbishop of Laodicea, who had been president of the dissolved central junta. By it the formation of a regency was ordained, and three members who were to compose it were named. A measure as sudden as it was unexpected could not fail to surprise and alarm us. For the first time we were then placed on our guard, fearing that we should be involved in the

misfortunes of the mother country. We reflected on her uncertain and vacillating situation, the French being already before the very gates of Cadiz and La Isla de Leon. We were apprehensive of the new regents, to us totally unknown, since the Spaniards of greatest credit had already passed over to the French, the central junta had been dissolved, and its members persecuted and accused of treason in the public prints. We were sensible of the informality of the decree published by the archbishop of Laodicea, and his total want of powers to establish a regency. We were ignorant whether the French had taken Cadiz, and completed the conquest of Spain, in the mean time that this same decree had been wafted over to us. We were moreover dubious whether a government rising out of the dispersed fragments of the central junta would not very soon share the same fate. Intent on the risks to which we were exposed, we resolved to take upon ourselves the care of our own security, until we acquired better information respecting the situation of Spain, and saw that the government there attained at least some degree of consistency. Instead of this, we soon beheld the regency fall to the ground, and various changes succeeded each other in moments of great public distress and confusion.

Meanwhile we established our own junta of government, on the model of those of Spain. Its institution was purely provisional, and in the name of the captive King Ferdinand. Our viceroy, Don Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, immediately issued circulars to the interior governors, in order that they might prepare a civil war, and arm one province against the other. The river Plata was soon blockaded by a squadron; the governor of Cordova began to organize an army, that of Potosi, and the president of Charcas caused a division of troops to march to the confines of Salta: and the president of Cuzco, presenting himself with a third army on the margins of El Desaguadero, entered into a forty days' armistice, in order to throw us off our guard; but before its termination commenced hostilities, and attacked our troops, when a bloody battle ensued, in which we lost more than one thousand five hundred men. The human mind shudders at the recollection of the acts of violence then committed by Goyeneche in Cochabamba. Would to God it were possible to forget this ungrateful and bloody

American, who, on the day of his entry into the above place, ordered the honourable governor and intendant, Antesana, to be shot; and, witnessing from the balcony of his house this assassination, in a ferocious manner cried out to the soldiery not to shoot him in the head, because he wanted this to place it on a stake; who, after cutting it off, ordered the lifeless trunk to be dragged along the streets; and who, by his barbarous decree, authorized his soldiers to become the arbiters of lives and property, allowing them, in possession of so brutal a power, uncontrolled to range the streets for several days.

Posterity will be astonished at the ferocity exercised against us by men interested in the preservation of America; and that rashness and folly with which they have sought to punish demonstrations the most evident of fidelity and love will ever be matter of the greatest surprise. The name of Ferdinand de Bourbon preceded all the decrees of our government, and was at the head of all its public acts. The Spanish flag waved on our vessels, and served to animate our soldiers. The provinces, seeing themselves in a bereft state, through the overthrow of the national government, owing to the want of another legitimate and respectable one substituted in its stead, and the conquest of nearly the whole of the mother country, raised up a watch-tower, as it were, within themselves, to attend to their own security and self-preservation, reserving themselves for the captive monarch, in case he recovered his freedom. This measure was in imitation of the public conduct of Spain, and called forth by the declaration made to America, that she was an integral part of the monarchy, and in rights equal with the former; and it had, moreover, been resorted to in Montevideo through the advice of the Spaniards themselves. We offered to continue pecuniary succours, and voluntary donations, in order to prosecute the war, and we a thousand times published the soundness of our intentions and the sincerity of our wishes. Great Britain, at that time so well-deserving of Spain, interposed her mediation and good offices, in order that we might not be treated in so harsh and cruel a manner. But, the Spanish ministers, blinded by their sanguinary caprice, spurned the mediation, and issued rigorous orders to all their generals to push the war, and to inflict heavier punishments; on every side scaffolds were raised,

and recourse was had to every invention for spreading consternation and dismay.

From that moment they endeavoured to divide us by all the means in their power, in order that we might exterminate each other. They propagated against us atrocious calumnies, attributing to us the design of destroying our sacred religion, of setting aside all morality, and establishing licentiousness of manners. They carried on a war of religion against us, devising many and various plots to agitate and alarm the consciences of the people, by causing the Spanish bishops to issue edicts of ecclesiastical censure and interdiction among the faithful, to publish excommunications, and, by means of some ignorant confessors, to sow fanatical doctrines in the tribunal of penance. By the aid of such religious discords, they have sown dissension in families, produced quarrels between parents and their children, torn asunder the bonds which united man and wife, scattered implacable enmity and rancour among brothers formerly the most affectionate, and even placed nature herself in a state of hostility and variance.

They have adopted the system of killing men indiscriminately, in order to diminish our numbers; and on their entry into towns they have seized non-combatants, hurried them in groups to the squares, and there shot them one by one. The cities of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba have more than once been the theatres of these ferocious acts.

They have mixed our captive prisoners among their own troops, carrying off our officers in irons to secluded dungeons, where during the period of a year it was impossible for them to retain their health; others they have left to die of hunger and misery in the prisons, and many they have compelled to toil in public works. In a boasting manner they have shot the bearers of our flags of truce, and committed the basest horrors with military chiefs and other principal persons who had already surrendered themselves, notwithstanding the humanity we have always displayed towards prisoners taken from them. In proof of this assertion, we can quote the cases of Deputy Mates from Potosi, Captain General Pumacagua, General Angulo and his brother, Commandant Muñecas, and other leaders, shot in cold blood many days after they had been made prisoners.

In the town of Valle-Grande they enjoyed the brutal pleasure of cutting off the ears of the inhabitants, and sent off a basket filled with these presents to their head-quarters; they afterwards burnt the town, set fire to thirty other populous ones belonging to Peru, and took delight in shutting up persons in their own houses before the flames were applied to them, in order that they might there be burnt to death.

They have not only been cruel and implacable in murdering, but they have also divested themselves of all morality and public decency, by whipping old religious persons in the open squares, and also women, bound to a cannon, causing them previously to be stripped and exposed to shame and derision.

For all these kinds of punishment they established an inquisitorial system, seized the persons of several peaceable citizens, and conveyed them beyond seas, there to be judged for supposed crimes; and many they have sent to execution, without any form of trial whatever.

They have persecuted our vessels, plundered our coasts, butchered their defenceless inhabitants, without even sparing superannuated priests; and, by orders of General Pezuela, they burnt the church belonging to the town of Puna, and put to the sword old men, women, and children, the only inhabitants therein found. They have excited atrocious conspiracies among the Spaniards domiciliated in our cities, and forced us into the painful alternative of imposing capital punishment on the fathers of numerous families.

They have compelled our brethren and children to take up arms against us, and, forming armies out of the inhabitants of the country under the command of their own officers, they have forced them into battle with our troops. They have stirred up domestic plots and conspiracies, by corrupting with money, and by means of all kinds of machinations, the peaceful inhabitants of the country, in order to involve us in dreadful anarchy, and then to attack us in a weak and divided state.

In a most shameful and infamous manner they have failed to fulfil every capitulation we have, on repeated occasions, concluded with them, even at a time when we have had them under our own swords; they caused four thousand men again to take up

arms after they had surrendered, together with General Tristan, at the action of Salta, and to whom General Belgrano generously granted terms of capitulation on the field of battle, and more generously complied with them, trusting to their word and honour.

They have invented a new species of horrid warfare, by poisoning the waters and aliments, as they did when conquered in La Paz by General Pinelo; and in return for the kind manner in which the latter treated them, after surrendering at discretion, they resorted to the barbarous stratagem of blowing up the soldiers' quarters which they had previously undermined.

They have had the baseness to tamper with our generals and governors, by availing themselves of and abusing the sacred privilege of flags of truce, exciting them to act traitorously towards us, and for this purpose making written overtures to them. They have declared that the laws of war observed among civilized nations ought not to be practised towards us; and their general, Pezuela, after the battle of Ayoma, in order to avoid any compromise or understanding, had the arrogance to answer General Belgrano, that with insurgents it was impossible to enter into treaties.

Such has been the conduct of Spaniards towards us, since the restoration of Ferdinand de Bourbon to the throne of his ancestors. We then believed that the termination of so many sufferings and disasters had arrived; we had supposed that a king schooled by the lessons of adversity would not be indifferent to the desolation of his people, and we sent over a commissioner to him, in order to acquaint him with our situation. We could not for a moment conceive that he would fail to meet our wishes as a benign prince, nor could we doubt that our requests would interest him in a manner corresponding to that gratitude and goodness which the courtiers of Spain had extolled to the skies. But a new and unknown species of ingratitude was reserved for America, surpassing all the examples found in the histories of the greatest tyrants.

In the first moments of his restoration to Madrid he declared us to be in a state of mutiny, but since then he has refused to hear our complaints, to admit our requests; and, as the last favour

we could expect from him, he has offered to us unconditional pardon. He confirmed the viceroys, governors, and generals, whom at his return he found carrying on their works of butchery. He declared it to be a crime of high treason for us to presume to frame a constitution for ourselves, in order that the administration of our own affairs might not depend on a tyrannic, arbitrary, and distant government, under which we had groaned during three centuries; a measure which could alone be offensive to a prince, the enemy of justice and beneficence, and consequently unworthy of governing.

By the aid of his ministers, he then applied himself to the forming of large armaments, with a view to employ them against us. He has since caused numerous armies to be conveyed over to these countries, in order to consummate the work of devastation, fire, and robbery. He has caused the first felicitations of the potentates of Europe, on his return to Spain, to be used as pleas in order to engage them to refuse us all aid and succour, and thus behold us tear each other to pieces with an eye of indifference. He has made special regulations for cruising against vessels belonging to America, containing barbarous clauses, and ordering that the crews shall be hung. He has forbidden, with regard to us, the observance of the laws of his naval regulations, framed according to the rights of nations, and denied to us all that we grant to his subjects when captured by our cruisers. He has sent over his generals with certain decrees of pardon, which they cause to be published for the purpose of deceiving weak and ignorant minds, and under a hope to facilitate their entry into the towns; but at the same time he has given to them other private instructions; and, authorized by these, as soon as possession is gained, they hang, burn, plunder, confiscate, and connive at private assassinations, plotting all kinds of injury against those thus feignedly pardoned. In the name of Ferdinand de Bourbon it is, that the heads of patriotic officers who have been taken prisoners are placed on the highways; that one of our commanders of a light party was killed with sticks and stones; and that Colonel Camargo, after also being murdered with blows by the hand of the villain Centeno, had his head cut off, which was sent as a present to General Pezuela, with this revolting notification, "that this was a miracle of the Virgin del Carmen."

Such is the extent and force of the evils and sufferings which have impelled us to adopt the only alternative left to us. We have long and deliberately meditated on our fate, and, casting our eyes every where around us, we have beheld nothing but the vestiges of those elements by which our situation was necessarily distinguished, opprobrium, ruin, and patience. What had America to expect from a king who ascends the throne animated by sentiments so cruel and inhuman? from a king who, before he commences his ravages, hastens to prevent any foreign prince from interposing in order to restrain his fury? from a king who with scaffolds and chains rewards the immense sacrifices made by his own subjects of Spain to release him from the captivity in which he lay? those very subjects, who, at the expense of their own blood, and under every species of hardship, had, without any intermission, fought to redeem him from prison, and till they had again placed the diadem on his head! If men to whom he is so much indebted, only for forming to themselves a constitution have received death and imprisonment as a return for their services, what could we suppose was in reserve for us? To expect from him and his butchering ministers benign treatment were to seek among the tigers of the forest the magnanimity of the eagle.

Had we hesitated in our resolve, we should have beheld repeated among us the sanguinary scenes of Caracas, Carthagena, Quito, and Santa Fé; we should have implicated the ashes of eighty thousand persons who have been victims of the enemy's fury, whose illustrious memories would have risen up in judgment against us, and demanded vengeance; and we should have called down upon ourselves the execration of so many future generations condemned to serve a master at all times ready to immolate them, and who, owing to his impotency at sea, has been completely disabled from protecting them from foreign invasions.

In consequence whereof, and impelled both by the conduct of Spaniards and their king, we have constituted ourselves independent, and prepared for our own natural defence and against the ravages of tyranny, by pledging our honour, and offering up our lives and property. We have sworn to the King and Supreme Judge of the universe that we will not abandon the cause of

justice; that we will not suffer that country which he has given us to be buried in ruins, and immersed in blood spilled by the hands of our executioners; that we will never forget the obligations we are under of saving our homes from the dangers by which they are threatened, and the sacred right vested in our country to demand from us every sacrifice, in order that it may not be polluted, crimsoned with blood, and trampled under foot, by usurpers and tyrants. We have engraved this declaration on our hearts, in order that in its behalf we may never cease to combat; and while we manifest to the nations of the earth the reasons which have so powerfully induced us to adopt the present measure, we have the honour to proclaim it as our intention to live in peace with all, even with Spain herself, from the moment she is desirous of accepting it.—Given in the Hall of Congress, Buenos Ayres, this 25th day of October, eighteen hundred and seventeen.

Dr. Pedro Ignacio de Castro y Barros, President.
Dr. José Eugenio de Elias, Secretary.

(D.) Page 216.

The circumstances attending the captivity and release of Captain Esmonde are the more interesting as they afford an instance of retributive justice, in which savage cruelty is punished through the immediate agency of the sufferer, in a more summary and obvious mode than usually occurs in the history of human transactions.

One of the authorities at Pisco, to whose charge the patriot prisoners had been consigned, was Don Francisco Algorte, who, in addition to the brutal tyranny which he exercised over the unfortunate prisoners, descended frequently to the cowardly violence of striking Esmonde upon the head with a cane.

From this situation, more horrible than death to the mind of a gentlemanly and high-spirited officer, Esmonde was removed to the casemates of Callao, whence he was liberated by the kind interposition of Captain Sherriff of H. M. S. Andromache,

with whom, in compliance with the terms of his release, he returned to England.

On the capture of Pisco in 1821 by the patriots, under the command of Colonel Miller, an estate of Algorte was, as belonging to a violent and uncompromising Spaniard, taken possession of, and subsequently confiscated.

Algorte repaired to Lima, and, in the course of a few months, by well directed presents, secured the support of some powerful friends, whose influence had nearly obtained from the protector the restoration of his estate. Nothing was wanting to complete his success but the report of Colonel Miller, upon the reference to him which was necessary to legalize the restoration.

To ensure his acquiescence, Algorte had recourse to a mutual friend, a rich Spanish merchant of the highest character. This gentleman, without venturing to enter into particulars, intimated that he was authorized to subscribe to *any* terms. An intimate friend of Colonel Miller's, an English merchant, was also employed, and who, in a jocose manner, hinted that, in the event of a favourable report, five or six thousand dollars might be accidentally found at the door of the colonel's apartments.

Captain Esmonde, who had fulfilled the conditions of his release, and returned to Peru, happened at this moment to be in Lima. To him, therefore, Colonel Miller, who had heard some reports of Algorte's treatment of the prisoners, referred for their correctness, without mentioning either then or afterwards the motive for his inquiries. Captain Esmonde simply recounted the conduct of Algorte towards himself and his fellow-prisoners.

The result may be anticipated. Colonel Miller's report was immediately forwarded, and Algorte's estate irrecoverably lost.

Captain Esmonde was afterwards employed by the Peruvian government to examine and report upon the possibility of making canals near Tarapaca. The vessel on board of which he embarked having never been heard of, is supposed to have foundered at sea.

(E.) Page 262.

It has been stated in the body of this work that, after the disastrous affair of Rancagua, the Carreras took shelter in Mendoza. They afterwards went to Buenos Ayres, where the elder embarked for the United States. In 1817, he returned from New York, bringing with him a few officers and some supplies to organize and arm a force which he intended to raise for the purpose of liberating Chile. In this patriotic design he had been anticipated by the army of the Andes at Chacabuco.

San Martin and O'Higgins considered the Carreras dangerous rivals, and thus it was impossible for the two parties to act together. Both detested the royalists, but perhaps they hated each other still more. This ill-will was not lessened on the return of Carrera, by his perceiving the star of San Martin lord of the ascendant, and finding both his brothers under surveillance. Ill at ease at Buenos Ayres, he privately re-embarked, and sailed for Montevideo. It is supposed he intended to proceed round Cape Horn to Chile, while his brothers were to make their way over land to the same country. The latter shortly after disappeared, upon which the supreme director, Puyrredon, sent circular orders to the governors of provinces, directing their apprehension. One was taken at Rio Quarto, the other at San Juan, and both were thrown into prison at Mendoza, where they remained until after the flight of the patriot army from Cancharayada. Whether the Buenos Ayrean party determined, from motives of self-preservation, to dispose of the Carreras, can only be surmised; but it is not improbable the chiefs considered that, in the event of further [illegible] they themselves would be exposed to the fate to which, it appears, they now condemned the Carreras. Instead of halting at Santiago, Monteagudo, judge-advocate, continued his retreat to Mendoza. Under his superintendence the junior brothers were brought to trial on some charge, in which party spirit seems to have been consulted quite as much as public justice.

On the 8th of April, 1818, and before the result of the battle of Maypo could be made known at Mendoza, the sentence of death was passed and approved of by the governor, Lusuriaga. Three

hours afterwards the unfortunate brothers walked arm-in-arm from their dungeon to the place of execution, where they embraced in the most affecting manner; seated themselves, with serene composure, on the fatal bench; and ordered the soldiers to fire. The brothers fell together, so as to embrace even in death.

This melancholy catastrophe produced a strong sensation in Chile; but the impression was rendered less permanent by the results of the opportune battle of Maypo. Independent of this cause, so many misfortunes had flowed from faction that numbers would have rejoiced at the extinction of either party by any means whatever. Resentful feelings subsided into a calm with the greater portion of the Carrera followers. Not so with the elder brother. Burning with the desire of vengeance, he brought into action all the energy and activity of his superior mind, and displayed a degree of personal courage which he had not shown in the early Chileno campaigns, and in which quality he was supposed to be as far below his brothers as they were beneath him in point of talent.

Gifted with an extraordinary share of attractive and persuasive eloquence, Carrera soon attached to his person a few devoted followers. Marching from province to province, he had the art to excite jealousies against Buenos Ayres, and to make the governors and the most influential inhabitants anxious for the establishment of the federal form of republicanism. Carrera dictated an inglorious capitulation to Buenos Ayres, which place he afterwards entered at the head of a small band; and, having lighted up the torch of civil discord, left it a prey to anarchy. He again traversed the Pampas with a horde of marauders, mostly Indians or of Indian extraction, and committed all sorts of depredations. He had about six hundred devoted followers, nearly half of which were women armed and dressed as men. The oracular style of eloquence which he made use of in addressing these people caused them to look upon him as something more than mortal. The governor of Mendoza having received supplies of money and arms from Chile, was able to attack Carrera with a superior force; and, although his horses were fatigued, Carrera made a gallant stand. He escaped from the field, but was afterwards taken by stratagem or treachery.

A few days subsequently, Carrera suffered death on the same spot where his brothers met their doom two years before. His last moments were, like theirs, marked by a firmness and serenity which would have done honour to a better cause.

Their venerable father, well known by strangers for his generous hospitality, shortly after died in Chile broken-hearted.

The three Carreras were young, wealthy, talented, aspiring, and impetuous. Indiscreet and ill-advised, they suffered themselves to be led astray by the impulse of unrestrained ambition. The dreadful effects have been described. A rival party succeeded to power, and the faults of the Carreras have been blazoned in unextenuated and unmitigated terms; but it ought never to be forgotten that *their* patriotism burst forth when it was dangerous to be a patriot; and there is strong reason to believe that the welfare of Chile was their ultimate object, although headlong passions hurried them into excesses, expiated by a melancholy and ignominious end.

(F.) Page 277.

We regret extremely that we have not been able to ascertain the names of all the heroes alluded to in page 277, who may justly be denominated martyrs to the cause of their country. We cannot, however, refrain from mentioning the names of a few, whose services are not to be obscured by an unjust and affected forgetfulness. The sufferings they endured in their protracted confinement in dark damp dungeons, from which a mere pretended and temporary apostasy would immediately have liberated them, seem only to have added new energy to their feelings, and new charms to their society.

Captain (now General) Don Gregorio Fernandez, and Major (now Colonel) Don Ramon Estomba, natives of the provinces of El Rio de la Plata, served, from the period of their liberation in 1821, with most brilliant reputation in Peru, and were amongst the most deserving officers.

Fernandez commanded in 1824 one of the finest battalions (No. 2.) of the liberating army. He suffered most severely from

illness, during the latter part of the campaign, and when he could no longer ride on horseback, he caused himself to be conveyed in a litter. He however became so exhausted that, a few days previous to the battle of Ayacucho, he was unable to keep up with his corps, and was intercepted by the hostile Indians, who supposing him to be a royalist officer did not put him to death. Fernandez at length rejoined his regiment, mortified to find that his efforts to participate in the battle had been fruitless, and that he had thus been prevented from witnessing the last blow, as he had the first, that was struck in the war of independence. Fernandez has since married a beautiful young lady of Salta, and becoming prefect of La Paz, has displayed no less talent as a governor than he had constancy and intrepidity as a soldier.

Colonel Estomba was a second time made prisoner, when the garrison of Callao mutinied, in 1824. He was one of the two officers who made their escape at the pass of San Mateo.

Having in 1826 fallen under the displeasure of the then absolute government at Lima, Estomba retired from the army, and, in partnership with a friend, took the lease of an estate near Ica. Soon afterwards a conspiracy was discovered at Lima, which had for its object the expulsion of the Colombians from Peru, and in which, together with other Buenos Ayrean and Peruvian officers, Estomba was supposed to be implicated. He was in consequence dragged from his estate at Ica, and for the third time thrown into prison, by order of General Bolivar; but after the strictest investigation, his innocence was fully established. So much however was he affected by this unmerited stigma, that he received his honourable acquittal with disgust; declaring that he had formerly endured with cheerfulness eight years' imprisonment in the horrid casemates of Callao, because he then considered it as undergoing martyrdom for his country; but to be accused of treason, and to be tried by a court of the men who were named to try him, was an indignity which time could never obliterate from his memory.

Notwithstanding the acquittal of the prisoners tried on this occasion, they were ordered to leave the country, and they accordingly embarked *. The ill-requited Estomba returned to his na-

* General Necochea was included in these proscriptions. He indignantly sent in his commission as a general of Peru, and some bills for the amount of a grant

tive province, after an absence of twelve years of toil, of dangers, and sufferings. He is now *Comandante general de la frontera* del Vulcan, ninety leagues south of Buenos Ayres.

Estomba, like many others, has reason to complain of the government of Lima; but he will not confound, with the general feeling of the Peruvian people towards him, the acts of a few sycophants who, after skulking in obscurity as long as real danger attended patriotic exertion, came forward with brawling tongues, when the danger ceased, to reap the fruits of the toils of those who had fought and shed their blood in the cause of freedom. Their nefarious object could not be obtained except by accusing and attacking those who had been foremost in the list of patriots. Estomba must be well aware that the mass of the Peruvian people, in their heart, have always done justice to him and to his unfortunate companions, who will no doubt receive a proper proof of national gratitude, though a representative government, as soon as the Peruvians shall possess one which will act so as really to merit that denomination.

If the limits of this work allowed us to enter into details on the merits of all these heroes, the colonels Toyo, Salvadores, Echenique, Pardo de Zela, and many others, could not with justice be omitted. Their heroic constancy and sufferings in the casemates of Callao would alone be sufficient to immortalize their names.

(G.) Page 350.

Translation of a Vote of Thanks from the Peruvian Congress to Lord Cochrane.

THE sovereign constituent congress of Peru, contemplating how much the liberty of Peru owes to the Right Honourable Lord Cochrane, by whose talents, valour, and constancy the Pacific has been freed from our most inveterate enemies, and the standard of liberty has been displayed on the coasts of Peru, resolves that the

in reward for past service, declaring he would carry *nothing from Peru but his wounds*. The then government coolly received the resignation and the bills, but had not the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of General Necochea's letter enclosing them.

Junta of government, in the name of the Peruvian nation, do present to Lord Cochrane, admiral of the squadron of Chile, expressions of our most sincere gratitude for his achievements in favour of this country, once tyrannized over by powerful enemies, now the arbiter of its own fate. The Junta of government, obeying this, will command its fulfilment, and order it to be printed, published, and circulated.

Given in the Hall of Congress, Lima, the 27th September, 1822.

(Signed) Xavier Luna Pizarro, President.
José Sanchez Carrion, } Deputies,
Francisco Xavier Marreatigui, } Secretaries.

In obedience, we order the execution of the foregoing decree.

(Signed) José de la Mar.
Felipe Antonio Alvarado.
El Conde de Vista Florida.

By order of his Excellency, Francisco Valdivieso.

Lord Cochrane's Proclamation on quitting Chile.

CHILENOS! You have expelled from your country the enemies of independence. Do not sully the glorious act by encouraging discord, and promoting anarchy, that greatest of all evils. Consult the dignity to which your heroism has raised you, and if you must take any steps to secure your national liberty, judge for yourselves; act with prudence; and be guided by reason and justice.

It is now four years since the sacred cause of your independence called me to Chile. I assisted you to gain it; I have seen it accomplished; it only now remains for you to preserve it.

I leave you for a time, in order not to involve myself in matters foreign to my duty, and for reasons concerning which I now remain silent, that I may not encourage party spirit. Chilenos! you know that independence is purchased at the point of the bayonet. Know also that liberty is founded on good faith, and is supported by the laws of honour, and that those who infringe them are your only enemies, among whom you will never find

(Signed) COCHRANE.

(H.) Page 356.

Translation of General San Martin's Proclamation.

I HAVE witnessed the declaration of the independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my possession the standard which Pizarro brought to enslave the empire of the Incas, and I have ceased to be a public man; thus I am more than rewarded for ten years spent in revolution and warfare. My promises to the countries in which I warred are fulfilled; to make them independent, and leave to their will the election of their governments.

The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly constituted states. I am also disgusted with hearing that I wish to make myself a sovereign. Nevertheless, I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of the country, but in the class of a private individual, and *no other*.

With respect to my public conduct, my compatriots (as is generally the case) will be divided in their opinions; their children will pronounce the true verdict.

Peruvians! I leave your national representation established: if you repose implicit confidence in it, you will triumph; if not, anarchy will swallow you up.

May success preside over your destinies, and may they be crowned with felicity and peace!

Pueblo-libre, September, 20 1822.

(Signed) SAN MARTIN.

Translation of an official Paragraph inserted in the Gazeta del Gobierno of the 22d September, 1822.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

THE sovereign constituent congress has resolved that his Excellency the Generalissimo of the forces of Peru, Don José de San Martin, be distinguished with the title of FOUNDER OF THE

LIBERTY OF PERU; that he retain the privilege of wearing the bicolor cordon, which was the insignia of the supreme chief of the state; that in every part of the territories of the nation be paid to him the same honours as to the executive power; that, on the conclusion of the war, a statue be raised, on the pedestal of which to be engraved an appropriate inscription; in the meantime, his bust to be placed in the national library; that he shall enjoy his former pay, and that a pension for life, in imitation of that to Washington, shall be granted, in conformity to the decision of the committee.

END OF VOL. I.

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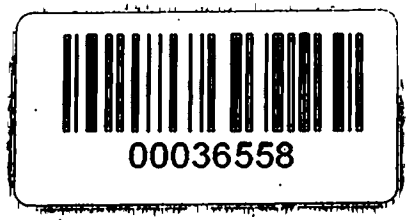
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